•pent out of 20 years. At present. the length of the National Highways in Tamil Nadu is 2002 kms The balance length of 598 kms. of State-owned roads is to be brought to the National Highways grid additionally in Tamil Nadu before the year 2001.

Madam, proposals have already been sent to the Government of India to declare sixteen State Government roads for a length of 3,355 kms. as National Highways. The most important of them is the stretch between Madras and Kanya-Kumari via Pondicherry, Karaikol, Ramanathapuram, Tuticorin and Triruchendoor along the East Coast, the length of which is 737 kms. It may also not be out of place to mention that the ports along the coastal belt on the West Coast of the country from Bombay to Kanyakumari are well connected by the National Highways. Similarly, on the East Coast of the country, the ports between Calcutta and Madras are well connected by the National Highways. But the link between the various ports on the East Coast of tre country from Madras to Kanyakumari is missing. It is, therefore, necessary that the stretch of the State Government coastal roads between Madras and Kanyakumari be classified as National Highways urgently. This has gained more im-portance and a necessity because of the commercial yield of the Cauvery basin oil fields and the transport of the crude. It is also very much necessary in view of the strategic importance and effective coast-guard operations. This is to curb the anti-national, subversive and terrorist activities across the coast.

Madam, Tamil Nadu is the only State in our country which has become vulnerable! to the infiltration of terrorists across are sea coast from foreign nations. Efficient coastal surveillance is compulsory. East Coast National Highway has thus become inevitable. So, this road between Madras and Kanyakumari on the East Coast has got to be classified as National Highway immediately. After this only the total length of the National Highways in Tama Nadu would be about 2739 kms. which would satisfy the target stipulated for the National Highway grid by 2001 horizon.

Madam, in addition to that, I would like to say that heavy traffic frequency and conjestion is noticed on all the highways of Tamil Nadu. This is because they connect Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Pondicherry. This warrants an imme didate widening of all the National Highways of Tamil Nadu into 4-lane traffic. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned for lunch till 2.30 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-one minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-five minutes past two of the clock.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bhaskar Annaji Masodkar) in the Chair.]

MOTION OF THANKS OM THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS— Contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI; BHASKAR MASODKAR): We now take up further discussion On the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Shri Gurupadaswamy was On his le£,s yesterday. He may continue his speech.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when I was speaking yesterday, I was referring to the problem of devaluation. I said that devaluation of the rupee had not done after careful consideration, that the Government had not learn', any lesson from the past, when the nation went in for devaluation not once, but more than once.

The main purpose of the devaluation was to bring about adjustment in the exchange rate. The main intention was to increase exports and decrease imports. The main consideration was bridge the gap in the balance of payments position. This main objective was not realised. It could not be realised and it will not be realised.

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[his was done at Che behest of the World iiank and the International Monetary Fund, I know. Sir, devaluation is a very serious matter. its consequences are serious. If it is undertaken thoughtlessly, 01, in a hurry, it may destroy the very economic system and dislocate our monetary fabric. This is what has happened now. The benefits of the devaluation are less. The disadvantages, are more.

As a result of the devaluation, what really has happened? The prices have increased. The increase in the adminrstered prices has acted as a catalyst. Already, the nation is going throuhg recession. Food production is in the negative. Industrial production I as almost registered a zero rate of grow in, whereas, money supply is increasing fist. There is a money supply hangover, The Government had undertaken devaluation at this juncture. And, to what extent?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Gurupadaswamy, can you yield for a minute At that time, we had only Rs. 2,000 crores worth of foreign exchange. Rs. 17,000 crores of foreign exchange were by the NRIs, if they had started withdrawing, wherefrom could we have got the funds?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: This is a traditional approach. Sir, the purpose can be achieved by other means.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): How?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am answering. I think he should listen to me. The non-Plan expenditure has been growing alarmingly. There is wastage. There is misdirection of resources to which I 'referred yesterday. It requires proper pruning and chopping in many areas. For instance, on Government staff alone we are paying Rs. 12,000 crores every year whcih constitutes 10 per cent of our governmental expenditure. There are 40 lakh employees and it is said that 50,000 posts can be abolished straight away, without affecting adversely the afficicey of the Government. On the contrary, the efficiency might improve. There are ways of dealing with the situation. The fault of this Government is that it is not aware of is own fault. It is not aware of its fault, that is the danger. Out of ignorance, thoughtlessness they have resorted to devaluation. Exports are not rising. If the foreign exchange position has improved, it is because of the borrowed money from the World Bank. Sir, may I refer to him that we have borrowed money in the past also, but never, never had the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund dared enough to impose such conditionalities? There were conditionalities, I know, but not such con-dionalities as they are imposing now. Today before these international institutions, before the Western world India is appearing as if it is a country of liliputs.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER): Who is responsible? *(Interruptions).*

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am not pinpointing the blame. I am making a statement, I am making an observation. It is true. You cannot deny that. (Interruptions). Please, you will have your chance.

Sir, today the country is standing on what I call, the escalator of stagnation and corruption. There is stagnation prevailing. Stagnation and inflation go to get her with fragile institutions. We have no strong institutions. We have combined these things with fragile institutions. They cannot absorb the shock. That is the situation today in India. The result is, there will be galloping inflation even in future. There will be escalation of prices of future, no containment of prices And your growth rate will suffer. Recession will continue. Because there is world recession, demand for our goods will also decline, will not improve. There is no demand for our goods in the world because of the recessionary conditions in America and Western countries of the world. Now, countries after countries are dictating to us, I am sorry to make this obser-

vation. Japan, which was never making political demands on us, they had the audacity to say today that unless nuclear proliferation treaty is signed, they will not in future give the assistance required. This is the kind of reaction. In the international world, Sir, how do you function? In foreign affairs, how are you functioning? This is a great nation in spile of its weaknesses. We are proud of our nation. We have played our role, historical role, in the past on many occasions. When the Prime Minister of India or the Head of the State went abroad, I know— asd the House is aware—-how they were respected. Today what is the situation? The Prime Minister of India has to go to business communities.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): What is wrong in it?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: 1 am making a statement. And he went to individual business people and address them in Caracas for instance, and also in Germany. He voluntarily goes and belittles himself as the Prime Minister of India. I say it is shameful and he must keep up his dignity as the Prime Minister. We are not taken seriously at all, maybe in GATT, maybe in UNCIAD or any conference in the world. We are following a very. very low profile. Why are you doing this? What for? We are devaluing ourselves in our own eyes.. That is unfortunate.

If there is recession in India, there is recession in America also. If we are incurring debts, America is also in debts. The only economic super power in the world today is Japan and Japan is dictating terms to America. And America, is refusing but wants us to surrender with bended knees. This is what the Americans are expecting us to do. Sir, I am making a very sad oberva-tion. In the international world, in the internatioal gatherings, our delegations are not taken seriously. Why? Let us analyze it. A country which once was considered to be one of the great regional powers....

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Not 1989, please sit down. Don't be pettyminded.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER; Trust hurts!

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: You are concerned, all of us are concerned, with this state of affairs. We should be sorry for this. Sir, let us not look at it from a partisan angle, I beg of you. What do I get out of it if I criticize you I am making an observation about a fact

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): The bungling that had taken place between 1984 to 1989 is the sad story of today.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, what is the reason for this denigration? What is the reason for this decline? The reason is. we have lost our ideological moorings; India has become a rudderless State. We talk of market economy without knowing what it is about. Sir, to' me a naked market economy means a rugged individualism, a rugged individualism which will help a majority few, denying opportunities for the majority. We will be creating a situation in the society where the Darwinian Theory will operate, the survival of the fittest. I know America believes today vis-a-vis India that might is right, justice is the interest of the stronger. That is Plato's dictum. They believe in that. They can dictate terms. They were not dictating terms in the past. They can dictate terms to us now. I want the Prime Minister of India to be conscious always, whenever he goes abroad or whenever he talks to foreign dignitaries here, that he represents a great country, a great nation. There is a saying by Clemenceau about America. I don't want to cast aspersions about America. This is a quotation from the Clemenceau. He said once about Americans and America, "America has drifted from barbarism to degeneration without the intervention of civilsa-ton". India has not Indian society and India has a great civilisations. We have! taught the world. We have set a great

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message to the world. We have a great legacy of the past, spiritual, political. I do not want Indian honour to be compromised by a bit for the sake of temporary gains.

With all these compromises and surrenders we are making to international institutions in the name of liberalisation, in the name of globalisation and integration of the Indian economy with the world economy, I say that we are taking this country to bondage. We are giving up progressively the philosophy of mixed economy. We have already given it up, surrendered. For what? For a doubtful advantage of importing market forces. The womb of India is open for anybody to come and operate. This is what is happening. There is uncertainty. We do not know the contours of our market economy concept and philosophy, if it is a philosophy. We have debated and debated the economic policy and the trade policy and all that. Does Parliament know, understand the contours .of this policy, the consequence of this policy?

I say, Sir, that this Government is leading the country to trouble. There is a crisis, and the crisis is going towards disaster. That is what is happening. In the past there was a famous orator, Shertdon, in England, during the time of William Pitt. While speaking on a budget he made one observation. England was almost in a state where they had to borrow money from various sources. So, during the debate he said, "if you do not lend me money, how can T pay you back?" That is the state of India today. To pay back the money that we have borrowed, we have to borrow again and again. Borrowing to pay back borrowing — we have landed in this kind of a predicament.

Sir, Dr. Manmohan Singh has raised one issue in the existing prevailing situation. What is the alternative? Yes. what is the alternative? I am reminded of an Arab legend, a story. It seems a Devil appeared in the dream of a person and told him that he would die if he did not do one of three things; he should either kill his servant or he should beat his wife; if he did not want to do those two things, at least be should drink wine. That person thought that drinking wine was comparatively an innocent. He thought, "My wife is very good to me and my servant is also very good to me. How can I beat or kill any of them" So he drank wine. In his drunkenness, what did he do? He beat his wife; he killed his servant. That is what Dr. Manmohan Singh is doing. He thinks that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund "brew" will save this country, save the economy. But, if he continues this, the same fate would befall this country as it befell that gentleman who drank wine. I narrate this story to you to emphasise that we should not appear weak or weakened befor$_e$ international agencies or before the other countries of the world. That 's my point. If you persist in this, we go on losing our honour and self-respect; the sovereignty of Parliament will go. The time has come to assert our mastery here. We want to know whether Indian Parliament is still the master of its own destiny; whether Parliament can shape the destiny of this country of some others sitting in Washington or elsewhere. That is the choice. The Narasimha Rao Government has made the choice to tour great humiliation. It has accented all the conditionalities. When the Budget comes up for discussion, our friends will deal with it'

In foreign affairs, as I said earlier, we have not been playing our role, a leading role, which we used to play. We are a non-aligned country. I do not know where non-alignment is now. We are a part of the Commonwealth. We do not know where the Commonwealth is now. We are a part of the SAARC. Therefore, at the end, I only say that the Budget which is presented is going to land us in great trouble.

As I said in the beginning of my speedh. the President's Address does not convey any message: it is lack-lustre.

non-descript and most uninspiring document. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr-Dhawan.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu). Is it his maiden speech?

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN (Andhra Pradesh): Well, I have spoken on various issues. But as far as. this sort of a debate is concerned, this is my maiden speech.

3.00 P.M.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity. As my hon. friend Mr. Maran has remarked, this is my maiden speech so far as the debate on President's Address is concerned, f had the privilege of watching such debates for a number of years from the official gallery. But obviously, I am happy today that T am actually participating in it- At the outset, I would like to thank the President for his thougthful address which gives a vivid account of the progress made in various spheres ever since the Congress (I) Government re-took charge of the country. The hon. President also deserves our congratulations for having mentioned and accorded a special welcome to the newly elected MP_S from Punjab. Before I touch upon the points mentioned in the hon. President's address, I would like to express certain views about the points raised by our honble, respected leader and colleague, Shri Gurupadaswamy. He is a very senior leader. He had been a Minister in Indira Ji's Cabinet. He had been a Member of Mr. V. P. Singh's Government and above all, the Leader of the House. I have got great personal respect for him. I was looking forward to his speech, which I thought would add to my knowledge about men and matters. But I must confess my disappointement with his speech- His speech was short on vision and short on facts. I am sorry, I have no disrespect towards Mr. Gurupadaswamy Ji, the points made by him lacked any heart or conviction. He has not made his points with any conviction. He had to make certain points to show that the belongs to the Opposition. So I say his points lacked conviction. Probably, after the results of 1991 elections, the recent bye-elections and above all, the Municipal elections of Bombay, a sense of defeat has probably enveloped him and his party. That is why he is re-sorting to this type of remarks which he ha_s made on the floor of the House. There was not even a glimmer of greatness in his speech. He has cofined himself just to limits of criticising and that too for the sake of criticising. If he had been objective in his criticism, we would have understood him. But since the belongs to the Opposition, he has to criticise. So he has confined himself only to criticising and in his words, in his eyes, nothing in the country is On going well Nothing good has been done during the Congress regime but as if everything possible was done when he or his party was in power. He has totally ignored the mood of the people, the mood of self-confidence that has built up ever since this Government has taken over The mood of the country is different today from what it was one or two years ago. It reminds me of what Indira Ji used to say and I quote:

> Greatness can never be given or taken by words. We are never interested in the greatness of an individual. We are interested in the greatness of the country."

That is why the Prime Minister is following the policies, the Congress (I) party is following the policies which are in the interest of the country because they are interested in the greatness of the country. The policies and programmes of the Government are directed towards the aim of making India great. So it is immaterial whether Mr. Gurupadaswamy or his party or other friends from the other side like it or not. You have to see what is the aim of the Government. What is the purpose? What is the main aim of the Government? The main aim of the Government is to make our country great and for this, the Government has to overcome all sorts of obstacles. It has to bear

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with all sorts of criticisms. It reminds me of what Pandit Ji said on 15th December, 1952, while speaking in the Rouse of People. He said:

> '"Every obstacle in the way of the aim must be removed whether it is in a friendly or cooperative way or by State pressure or by law."

So we don't have to attach importance to anything that Mr- Gurupadaswamy said. The aim of the Government is very clear. The aim of the Government is to make the country great and in order to achieve that aim, everything possible has to be done and will be done by the Congress party irrespective of the fact that our friends opposite like it. or not. *{Interruptions). I*t is human, Sir, to, see the world in one's own image and that is what probably Mr. Gurupadaswamy has been trying to do. The trouble with the opposition parties is that they have to listen to the voice of the people which they can't tolerate. The voice of the people is that they I have voted Congress to power. The Congress has won through elections. The people of this country tried to give a chance to these peoples not only once but twice, but when they saw that they were failing miserably on every front, they. thought the best thing in their interest was to bring back the Congress Party to power. Our friends in the Opposition do not listen to the voice of the people. That is then problem,. What is happening, what good things are done they are not concerned. They have turned a deaf ear to all these things. They have closed their eyes Because they have to listen to the voice of the people. Their tragedy is this. Nevertheless, we should not mind criticism because they are in the Opposition-It i_s their job to criticise. If they don't criticise, probably nobody would call them "Opposition" or there may be aspersions. Even if Mr. Gurupadaswamy had not said any of these things, his own friends probably would have told him,, "Are you intending to join the Congress?" Originally, he belonged to the Congress. He belonged to the Congress. In his own mind the' Congress policy and ideology, everything, is the best, but somehow or the other he got involved in that. So perforce he has to listen to his friends... *(Interruption)* .. .That you can ask him. I know it, but I need not answer you because I Ihave known him ever since he became a Minister here, and then he resigned and then he made a personal statement for resigning; even that I remember. All these things probably you ask him and don't ask me so many times.... *(Interruption)*... In his heart of hearts the is a Congressman, but he ha_s the fear in his mind... *(Interruptions)*... He has not the heart; that is why I said in the beginning... *(Interruption)*... He could not make the points with a heart of conviction because his heart and conviction are with the Congress Party, but since he has to make this..

(Interruption) ----- If he has not made these points, all of you would have shouted at him, "Are you intending' to join the Congress?" Already he has been removed from the leadership of the party. If be had not made this attack, if he had not criticised the Government, probably you would have suspended him from the party. ... *(Interruptions)* .. Of course, he did not want to face that situation. Already he had to shift from that chair to this chair and he does not want to go out now; that is why he had to make all these points... *(Interruptions)* .. .The Congress Padty or the Government of the Congress Party ha_s never believed that changes could be brought in by magic. The Congress Party has never promised that they would bring heaven on earth* They only believe in ... *(Interruption)*. ..

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: It is the Congress Party which has promised that they would bring down the prices within hundred days.

SHRI R. K: DHAWAN: They only promise that they will do everything possible which is in the interest of the country. To make the country great. they look to the country first, then to themselves whereas my friends in the

Opposition look to themselves first, they look to the power first, the look to the country . . . *{Interruptions)...* my friend, Girupadaswamyji was asking why such a stage had arisen. I must say, "You search your heart, you will get the reply." The social, economic and political infrastructure assiduously built up by the Congress Party over 40 years has just been dissipated in the misrule of one year of the Janata Dal Govern-ent, the national Front Government. It was the National Front Government—of which he was a prominent member; he was the Leader of the House—which sowed the seeds of confrontation and division. All these seeds were sown only during its time. All the good work done by the Congress Government in these States was thrown to the winds only because of the whims and fancies of a particular person who was heading the Government. ... *(Interruptions)* .. He also wanted to know the reason which has led to the present situation. Well, it is the non-performance of the National Front Government which has led to the present situation. Instead of tackling the problems facing the country, they indulged in mutual recrimination and vindictiveness. Instead of devoting their energies to solve the problems facing the country at that time, they just indulged in witch-hunting. AH sorts of inquiries, all sorts of FIRs lodged, all sorts of announcements made in a dramatic manner. And when his Government, the Government of Mr-V. P. Singh, of which Mr. Gurupadas-wamy was a prominent member, was indulging in these things, where was the time with them to devote their energies to solve the problems? . They believe only in vindictiveness. Mr. V. P. Singh may forget doing all this. He forgot that the politics of hate is self destructive. The politics of bate is self-destructive and in the process he was •indulging he got destroyed. They may say that all the cases were there. They have to make enquiries. Nobody is scared of enquiries. Please go ahead. He had made dramatic statements in public speeches that he would be able to produce the names of certain persons who. had received kickbacks within 15 days when he comes to power. All that was all right That is understandable. But 1 would like to enlighten my res-pectab'f friend Mr. Gurupadaswamy on the attitude the mentality and vindictiveness of the Government of Mr. V. P. Singh- The House may recall that in this very House, when Mr. V. P.. Singh was the Prime Minister and we were on the other side, I had made a mention that Mr. V. P. Singh ordered the office of the Enforcement for bringing the files pertaining to the foreign bank accounts of his son. I made specific charges. The files were called for undgr written instructions from the Directorate of Enforcement, which is a statutory-body. The department did not hare to seek anybody's clearance for going through that the enquiries and that' too by decision of .sending a letter in writing.

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA (Karnataka): I am on a point of order. He has referred to some files. Which are those files? Can you bring Chem?

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: Just for a minute. I am coming to that. *(Interruptions)* . .. Bear with me for a minute. I am coming to (he point. I am coming to the limit of his vindictiveness. I am explaining the reason why he has been vindictive to me.' *(Interruptions).,.* You listen to me. I am. trying to tell you the limit of his being mean and vindictiveness . *(Interruptions)* . . .

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA. I am on a point of order. *(Interruptions)* ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): There is no point of order. There cannot be any point of order. *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: When I raised this issue what did Mr. V. P. Singh do to me? *{Interruptions).:.!* have never been scared of anything. ' I have faced many commissions appointed by your Govtrnment. *(Interruptions)*^..

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA: On whom the needle is pointing, you know? *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please. *{Interruptions)....*

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA: The needle is pointing, to you.

SHRI R. K. (DHAWAN. I have raised certain points pertaining to the foreign bank accounts of Mr. V. P. Singh's son. What did Mr. V. P. Singh do instead of ordering an enquiry? He went and sent written instructions to the Income-tax Department. *(Interruptions)* .. .All of you will be shocked to know— and it is a matter of shame—that he aid that income-tax records of Shri; R. K. Dhawan pertaining to the years from 1977 to 1980 should be reopened. He reopened my income-tax account pertaining to those years. *(Interruptions)...* I am telling about the vindictiveness. *(Interruptions).. .Jt* happened to me. It is a matter of record. *(Interruptions).* ... You don't know what was done *to* me by the Janata Dal Government of which all of you are partners... *(Interruptions)* ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR). Just see, Mr. Dhawan. *(Interruptions)...*

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: In 1985-86 he was in the Government. I was not in the Government. Rather I was in a difficult situation. If he had anything he could have ordered an enquiry then itself. Why did he not that? Simply because I raised the issue of the foreign bank accounts of Mr. V. P. Singh's son he went and ordered the Income-tax Department *to* reopen my income-tax cases pertaining to the years 1977—80. This is the limit of the vindictiveness of V. P. Singh's Government. *(Interruptions)...* Do you think Mr. V. P. Singh is bothered about (the legal things? *(Interruptions)...* I have got a written order. I have sot a written order from the department that the Central Board of Direct Taxes under the instructions of the Prime Minister's office had asked to reopen these cases. | *(Interruptions)...* And they are asking for the details from me. I am just dis-I closing them for the first time today only. This has been going on. Let him know. I have nothing to hide. Let him even go to partition days. We migrated in 1947. When Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Morarji Desai were in the Government, they ordered for the income-tax receipt and asked how the money was spent on the marriage of my sisters in 1944-45 when India even did not attain idepen-dence. This is all a matter of record. I am not saying anything off record. If you want you can check up. What Mr. V. P. Singh had done to me simply because I raised the issue of foreign bank accounts of his son?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He is criticising the Government. *(Interruptions)* ,

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN; I am explan-ing the vindictiveness of your Government. Are you hard of hearing?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Dhawan, you please address the Chair. Let us not have a cross-talk.

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: It is a very sorry state of affairs that a senior leader who has a parliamentary experience of a number of years has described the President's Address as a catalogue, of events and things. What does he really mean by it? He was also in the Govern-ment. His Government had also prepared a President's Address. But for him to call the President's Address as a catalogue of events and things is really unimaginable. No Government can spell out all the details of its policies and programmes that it has followed or intends to follow or will follow. No, Government can do it. To call it a catalogue of events and things. I don't know in which world Mr. Gurupadaswamy is living. The

Government only takes the opportunity to broadly mention the approach to various issues confronting the nation. It cannot list each and every achievement or what it intends to do. By any standard the performance of the Government has been cretditable. Now there is confidence amongst the people that the Government is sincere and committed to get the economy moving again.

Then he also referred to why they boycotted the President's Address. He explained that it was a sort of a protest Sir, the Presidential Institution is the highest institution in the country. He might say it was only a sort of protest. But I asure him, if he goes outside, goes to the people, he will realise that people havet taken it not as a protest but as a dishonour to the President. They had ample opportunities to discuss the issues mentioned in the speech. Just to boycott the President's Address was not a solution. This only shows that they have no respect for any institution. They will do anything possible as they had done in the past when they were in power in 1977-80. They will do everything possible to destroy any institution. They have no regard to this institution. I am very sorry to say that *Mr,* Gurupadaswamy has also become a tool in the hands of certain friends.

Yesterday, he also mentioned words like legacy and values. Is the Congress to be taught what legacy it should follow and what values it should follow? Does any other party have the audacity to suggest what legacy the Congress party should follow? The Congress Party has always followed the legacy given to it by the founr'ing fathers of the organisa tion. For this we dont need any sermons from Mr. Gurupadaswamy or. for that matter, from anybody else. So far as the values are concerned, I have already explained that the Congress Party and the Government of Mr. Narasimha Rao stand committed to certain values.

They are talking of values. What values were followed by Mr. V. P. Singh's Government? The moment he came to power he changed all the bureaucrats. What was the fault of the bureaucrats A bureaucat is supposed to give independent and free advice. Since he did not want independent and free advice, he removed all the key officers and bureaucrats. Can you name a single officer whom Mr. Narasimha Rao has removed? What did Mr. V. P. Singh do? He approached the President and the President wrote to all the Governors that the Government wanted "to change you and you send your resignation". Mr. V. P. Singh'* Government even surpassed the Government of Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Charan Singh. They only asked one or two Governors to resign like Mr. Uma Shanker Dikshit and one more. But he did not ask the Governors to resign *en bloc.* When Mrs. Gandhi came back *to* power, there were certain Governors who had made open and clear statements against her, but she allowed them to continue. The Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Mukharjee, was in charge of all the in-vestigations against Mrs. Indira Gandhi. But when she came back to power, she did not change him. He retired when his actual date of retirement came. But what did Shri V. P. Singh do7 The entire bureaucracy was changed. Does not this demoralise the bureaucracy? Do you expect the senior officers to give free and frank advice? They will not because they will be scared, they will be afraid that this would be misconstrued to mean that they were helping or siding with a particular party. In the process who suffers? It is the country which suffers, the system suffers, the institution suffers, and this is what their Government did. Now they are talking about this Government. He also made a mention—I was jotting down the points— he referred to the crisis of caste, creed, religion, region etc. I would like to ask him, who created this? He should not forget, he should apply his mind, search his heart and then he will get the answer that it was only their party who had created all these things. In any case, the Congress party does not believe in creating crises, It believes only in

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solving them. So I am very sure, rather *1*00 per cent sure, that all the crises created by them will be solved by the Government of Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao. Everything will be solved. If the crises were not to be solved you would have been on this side. But because the crisis has to be solved since the time has come to solve them, we have come to this side and you are on the other side. Nature itself has taken care of you. Mr. Gurupadaswamy also said that the Opposition was not being consulted. He said that the Opposition should also be consulted. I think probably he has a failing in his memory, or he has not applied his mind or he has been out of station or out of touch with the affairs. He should

. check up the number of meetings the Prime Minister has held with the Opposition leaders on various issues and compare them with the meetings held by their Government. Then he will get an answer. Yes, he[1] is right in saying that the Opposition was not being consulted in

the way in which Shri V. P. Singh's . Government did. If my friends have objection to rny taking Shri V. P. Singh's name,. I shall say to the way in which the National Front Government consulted the Opposition party. Just calling a meeting arM circulating papers and getting them endorsed, that is not the kind of meetings we have been having. I am sorry we are not doing that type of consultations We believe in positive and concrete proposals. If your theory of consulting the Opposition is just circulating papers and getting them endorsed, then certainly, I agree with you that we are not consulting the Opposition. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I think I have dealt enough with ' the points raised by Shri Gurupadaswamy. As I have already said. he belongs to the Opposition and hence he ' has to criticise and we should not mind it. The President's Address has a very' happy beginning. It started by referring to the elections held in Punjab and the promise of the Prime Minister having been fulfilled. Tnstead of conga-

" tulating the Prime Minister for having ' kept his word they have criti ed him.

From day one when he took over the reins of the country, he said that elections in Punjab would be held in February 1992 and he maintained that. I think the whole House should have joined to congratulate the Prime Minister for fulfilling his promise. But since this does not suit them, the Opposition accused that free and fair elections were not held. All sorts of fears were being expressed. All sorts of rumours were being spread that there will be a lot of killings and that it will not be possible for the Government to hold elections. It was said that elections would get postponed. All that, the Prime Minister withstood and held elections in Punjab as promised. For this he deserves our heartiest congratulations. It is a different matter that the turn out was low. You have to apply your mind and try to think as to why the turn out was low. It was low because the Akalis boycotted the elections. Have you ever given a thougt to it. When 1989 Lok Sabha elections were held they had participated in it. Before the dates were changed for holding elections there, they were participating. Only now they did not want to participate. Why? What were the reasons? What were the reasons for it? My friends from the opposite side may say that probably the Akalis tried to boycott the polls because the Congress did so last year that they boycotted the elections. But you should look at the reasons. Why did the Akalis boycott and why did the Congress boy-coft? As the . whole country knows, at that time, the Akalis wanted to go to the polls under a particular slogn which was not at all acceptable to the Congress party and, in their heart of hearts, to them also. That was why our beloved leader. Shri Rajiv Gandhi took a decision that the Congress could not go to the polls under that particular slogan. If that particular slogan had been removed, the Congress " would have gone to the polls: Since the Akalis did not agree, the Congress boycotted the elections. But what was the reason for the Akalis to boycott? If you look at the statements of the Akali leaders, all along, they have been only clamouring for elections—there

should be elections; there should be elections—and when they actually had to face the election, they boycotted it. So, this is the reason. The reason for the lower turn-out was the fault of the Akalis and not that of the Congress party. But even in the low turn-out, what has happened? The people of Punjab voted for whom? They know that their success and their endeavours are in the hands of the Congress party. Even if the turn-out was 20 per cent or 22 per cent, they did not vote for you. Why did they vote for Congress? Because they believe in the policies and programmes of the Congress party. So, you should not take any solace. Even though the turn-out was low, it should not be treated as a lack of mandate. They have voted the Congress to power.

There are certain things which I would like to bring to the notice of the Government. There is a mention in the President's Address that the Government is willing to have any dialogue, of course, within the framework of our Constitution. I personally feel that this will only strengthen the hands of the terrorists. How can we have any dialogue with anybody? My suggestion to the Government would be that they should first find out the particular group's of militants or terrorists, whatsoever they are called, with whom they should have a dialogue. We cannot have any dialogue with anybody. We should have dialogue with the groups which have some say on the other terrorists, which hold and which will be able to mould them to come within the framework of our Constitution. This is one of the suggestions which I would like to make.

As regards Kashmir, the President has given a broad picture of the prevailing conidtions there and the efforts of the Government to overcome the difficulties there. I am very happy that the President has noted the problems of the religious minorities who have fled the State and gone somewhere else. We can well understand the problems and the difficulties being faced by these minorities and I am sure the Government is doing and will do everything possible to ameliorate their problems. There are one or two points which have come to my notice. It is not a criticism like my friends did and I think the Government doesn't mind even if it is an objective criticism because as Indiraji once said, "Anybody facing the challenge of lifting the country from one age to another must chart new courses". Therefore, at this time, there has to be certain kind of experimentation and some risks taken. The Government is doing and taking some risks. There is no way out. But there are one or two things to which I want to draw the attention of the Government. I understand this could, bo wrong and I hope I am proved wrong. Various financial institutions such as LIC, GIC and others are not making payment under insurance cover to the lives lost or the immovable property damaged. If it is so, certaily, it will cast a reflection in our attitudes towards the minorities. I am not at all sure. I am not casting any aspersion on these financial institutions. Some people have told me. I think it is my duty to bring it *to* your notice. If it is so, effective step must be taken to check that.

The President's Address also mentions' the massive steps that have been taken to control terrorism. All of us in this House will agree that terrorism has to be checked at any cost and the Congress Government deserves the appreciation of the entire House. My friends from the other side may agree to this of not, everything possible is being done to control the menace of terrorism. It is very heartening to know from the hon. President's Address that our foreign exchange reserves are over Rs. 10,000 crores and for this our respected Prime Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, and his Government deserve our congratulations. They have turned round an economy which looked to be on its death-bed. No doubt, to achieve this they had to take certain hard decisions. Maybe, these decisions are not *to* the liking of Mr. Gurupadaswamy or his party or, for that matter, the entire) Oppositioi.

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But whenever a certain action has to be taken, certain steps have to be taken, to revive the economy, certain hard decisions have to be taken. There is no choice the Government. The hon. President's Address also mentions that International Confidence in our economy is being restored. It is a very good development. But I think Government's attention must be drawn to certain reports appearing in a section of the press wherein it is reported that some international agencies are doing some research and are reporting the situation to the contrary. I would like the Government to ask these agencies to reassess the situation in our country and say sincerely if the situation is really not different from what they have been reporting it to be. Maybe, there is a deliberate attempt on the part of certain agencies, certain people, certain parties, to get distorted reports published in the newspapers in order to create confusion or to say what the Government is saying is not true. Therefore, I wish *to* draw the Government's attention to this particular aspect. I am sure there will not be any truth in these inspired reports. The Government must come out and say what the factual position is.

There are also reports that NRI proposals in this regard are not coming up. There are proposals hardly worth Rs. 12.000 crores. On the one hand, we are giving them so many concessions; on the other hand, the response is not that encouraging. So we should see what should be done.

The hon. President outlined the policies of the Government with regard to the new industrial policy and the need to protect the interests of workers while restructuring the new policy. It is heartening to note that a tripartite committee has been set up to look into all the problems. I hope that the- tripartite committee will look into the problem of dearness allowance for which a meeting has not taken place for quite some time. There has been no effort to fix dearness allowance on a point-to-point basis. I also understand that the Marxistled union is not participating in this. I personally feel and request the Government that they should explore the possibility of persuading all our friends to join the tripartite meeting so that positive results can be achieved by such a committee.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Government to the industrial sickness, as to what is being done about sickness of industries. There are about 4 lakhs of sick units which have already cornered about Rs. 18,000 crores of public funds. If closure is the answer, they must be allowed to be closed. If closure is not the answer., then the agencies looking after them must be asked to decide their cases expeditiously. I know personally some instances—-I won't namg any particular industry in the House—of genuine mills running in profits turning sick. All efforts are made by them just to swindle their funds, take away their funds, and to see that that particular unit becomes sick and goes to the BIFR. I think, therefore, that oome sort of protective measures should be their so that the industrial houses are not able to declare their working units as sick units.. And one of the best ways, according to me, would be that all industrial Inccses who declare any of their industrial unit sick, should not be given advances by any financial institutions, because, I have personal knowledge, one of the industrialists told me when by chance I asked him why a particular industry of his was not working, "Let it become sick. W_e will refer it to the BIFR after six months." But, at the same time, I know that they are having new projects and they are get-tin,2 loans from the financial institutions. So, my request to the Government would be that there must be a system of checks and bala ices and any industral house, any industry, going sick should not be given any advance, should not be given any further advance, from financial institutions.

The honourable President has also stated in paragraph 12 of his Address that the in nation rate has come down now to 12 per cent. It is a very heartening and welcome thing, particularly when you compare the figure April 1991 and the figure new.

So, this is a very welcome development and for this the Government deserves congratulations and for this we roust express our gratitude to the Government of Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao. The Finance Minister has, in his Budget speech, given a detailed account of the reasons that led to this high rate of inflation. He has economy He has given all the details. I do not know whether all of us listened to his speech carefully or read the papers. All the Members must have received the Budget papers. Anyway, I do not want to go into it now. That explains the position fully, explains fully what the state of the economy is and what the reasons are for this state of the economy. Probably, Mr. Gurupadaswamy will become more enlightened once he goes through these papers. Although inflation has come down to 12 per cent, I was hoping and I though that further effective measures that would be taken by the Government would bring the inflation rate down to 8 per cent be so. That was during the last year of the late Rajiv Gandhi. But I am very happy to note from the newspaper reports, perhaps of yesterday or the day before yesterday, the Government intends to bring it down to seven per cent or six percent. This is a very good thing and I fully welcome that. I hope that every possible step will be taken to bring the inflla-tion rate to that level.

Then, Sir, the honourable President has, in his Address, briefly mentioned the steps that have been taken to improve the infrastructure such as coal, electricity, steel, communications, etc. There is no doubt that the improvements in these areas will boost the economy. The announcement regarding the restructuring of the Indian Airlines and Air-India is a welcome thing. I thing the manageiment of these organizations must pull up their socks. Things are not as good as they should be and I hope that the Government will take every possible step, as announced by it. to improve the functioning of these organizations, especially the ma-nagememt, Somehow there is something lacking in the management of these organizations and the recent pilots' strike, I think, points to the lack of proper management which has led to this strike. As the President has mentioned, I am sure the Government will take every effectiv-step that is needed.

There is no doubt that the prices of all the-essential commodities have risen and the issue is agitating the mind of everybody and all of us, whether on this side or on that side ,are concerned about this and want that th.e prices must be brought down. The reasons for the high prices have also been explained by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech and *he* has, at the same time, also outlined the steps which he has to take to bring these down. I am sure that the things in that area also will improve.

There is a mention in para 27 of the President's Address that the Government !has been making every effort to improve the public distribution system. This is a very good step. But, to my mind, it appears that simply increasing the public distribution centres wil not solve the pro-blem. Why? The situation in respect of the public distribution system is not very happy. If the public distribution system is failing or is not improving or is not coming up to the mark, it is for various reasons nnd one of the main reasons is the non-availability of stocks. The stocks are no Available in the public distribution shops and the poor people, when they go tihcre. are told to come the following day or after three *of* four days, and by the time they go there again, they are told that their weekly quota is over because drawal of ration is from one week to another and in the process they suffer very much. So every effort should be made to see that sufficient stocks are available in the«e shops so that the poor people do not have to suffer.

Then, some way should be found to check the adulteratoin that is taking place in these public distribution shops. I have personal knowledge about this because 1 happened to see two or three public distribution shop); and *X* happened go be there at the time they were doing adulteration. I must say. that adulteration is a heinous crime. They get stocks at cheaper rates. Those stocks are gold

[Shri R. K. Dhawan] in the market and bad quality stocks are sold in the Public distribution shops, and in the process the Government gets a bad name. So, some effective steps should be taken to' check adulteration also.

Sir, there are also other areas which the President's Address has dealt with, almost all the areas, be it the family planning or be it the international relations or be it anything else. And many other issues are there. The Janmabhumi issue is there. So, there is no need for me to go into them. But only one point which I wish to make. He mentioned about the Eighth Plan. It is not as much as it should have been there. And I am sure the Government will take necessary steps to ensure that the cuts in the Plan outlay such as proposed in the Budget will not adversely affect our growth and the welfare programmes.

Then, Sir, there are one or two other issues which probably had escaped the attention of the Government. May be the Government was very busy in solving the problems of Punjab, Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, prices and inflation and they might not have the time to apply their mind to these. One is regarding the electoral reforms. There is not mention about it in the President's Address. I wish the Government also pays some attention to it, specially the State funding! of elections. Sir, I have had the opportunity of seeing the elections 'being conducted for almost 30 years I personally feel that a stage has come when Government must come to a definite decision about the State funding of elections- and proper check on the accounts of the individuals and the parties concerned.- All of us who fight elections— Some of the Rajya Sabha Members might have fought and some will also fight or sojne .like-me might have seen the elections being fbught-Jmow that....

AN HON. MEMBER: Sometimes their elections will be countermanded also.

.SHRI.R. K. DHAWAN; Yes, there will. be counter-manding also. The Government .has. taken, very effective steps by reducing ..the campaign period.. But there are certain otter areas in which, some action fimi to be taken.

With these remarks, Sir, I request all the Members to join me in supporting the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): Sir, today, an extra-ordinary situation is prevailing in the country. We from the National Front and the Left Parties had to stay away from the President's Address That has been criticised by the Treasury Benches. Why did we stay away? Sir, we found that a dangerous scenario is emerging, what is called pre-independence scenario. Therefore, those who love independence, who want to defend independence have to demarcate themselves to see to their ability that our independence is protected.

Today, Sir, Parliament Members and Assembly Members of the Left Parties have staged a dharna in front of Parliament. And also a demonstration is now taking place at the Boat Club protesting against the policies of the Government. Therefore, Sir, why we are protesting has to be explained by me.

At the outset, I must say that I have to differ from my friend who moved the Motion of Thanks. To begin with, we were told that by the time the new Gov ernment came to power, the economy was in a very dangerous situation and, there fore, very urgent treatment was required, and that efficiency had to be brought in. A man who worked abroad earlier, who was trained in the World Bank treated the economy with the prescriptions of the World Bank itself. And, Sir, what is the result?

Before going into the details of the treatment, let us see what has been the result according to the Economic Survey. With your permission I would quote some figures supplied to us through the Economic Survey, because the effect of the medicine can be assessed only by the results, achieyed. The Gross National Product in 1990-91 was 5.8 per cent; in 1991-92, it came down to 2.33. per cent, just less than fifty per cent. In the case of Gross.Domestic Product, it was 5.6 per cent and it came down to 2.5 per cent, which is also 50 per

cent. Agricultural production, according to the details given, may equal the last year's production. But in the case of foodgrains, it was 3 per cent last year and this year is has gone down to 1.5 per cent provisionally. In the case of industrial production, it was 8.5 per cent last year; now it is negative. *9* per cent negative. Then take the prices. Dr. Manmohan Singh told us that he is going to bring down the prices to 9 per cent but according to his own figures, the wholesale prices are 12 per csnt retail prices 13 per cent. Then we exports. The whole economic exercise conducted by the Government was to improve exports. Actually the exports were more at current prices in rupee terms; it was 28.7 per cent and in dollar terms, it is minus 5 per cent. What does it mean? Dr. Manmohan Singh had claimed that with 23 per cent devaluation of the rupee, we will have a very good period with our exports going high and we will be earning a lot of foreign excrange. But what has happened? Indian goods were given practically free; 23 per cent more goods were given to them and we in turn! earned only minus 5.9 per cent foreign exchange in dollar terms this time. This has been the result of the medicine. I do not want to go into other figures. Therefore, when we say that the policy will help industrialisation, will help ag.-xcltural growth, will help exports, will help earning foreign exchange and will help in price reduction, we find that none of the measures adopted proved effective.; rather it proved otrerwise. Therefore, I say that the medicine which is being given by Dr. Manmohan Singh will kill the patient. That is going to be its effect.

To begi$_n$ with, I have given this analysis,. Let me go a little further into the details of the economic policies of the Government. The Government declared that our economy should not stand in isolation and that we must globalise our economy and make it more comprehensivs 'and for that delicensing was introduced. In the name of globalisation, comprehensive delicensing introduced. Abolition of control for free-entry. Changes in the MRTP Act. Introduction of automatically in the approv of foreign tecrnology agreements and foreign investment. Fifty per cent foreign equity participation in priorty industries. Automatic approval of foreign collaborations. Besides, offlate, hundred per cent equity allowed for foreign companies. Restriction on import of any machinery is removed.

In the case of electricity sector, multinationals are allowed hundred par cent equity participation, with an assurance of 16 per cent take-home profits. Also, they can instal it here and start 'he company on their own. All the expenditure, plus 16 per cent, they can take back home as profits. This is one thing.

In the name of globalisation, multinational companies, like Ford, are invited. As you know, Sir, in the industrialised world, especially, in the U.S.A., they are facing a serious recession. In the Ford company itself, 70,000 employees are retrenched. Many companies are closed. But Ford;is coming to India to start an industry, in the automobile sector. What is the present position of our own automobile industry? Hindustan Motors is inj crisis. Premier Motors, Bombay, is also in-crista. This crisis is because of the Maruti-Suzuki tie-up. Now, Maruti company is being given to Suzuki itself. The crisis was aggravated because of this tie-up. H we in rite Ford here, what will happen? The other companies in the automobile sector will be closed down. Rather, they will not be able to work. In fact, they^cannot work.

What will be the effect of globalising the economy and inviting multinationals to operate in the country? DeindustriaJisation will start. Our industries which are working today will be closed down. On the other hand, some industries from abroad will work here, at ohir cost. They will take back home profits, according to their will and pleasure, without any restrictions, according to the new economic policy. This will be the effect.

What will be the; effect, on the electricity sector, opening the door to the multinationals, with hundred per cent equity participation and 16 per cent take home profit facility, plus an assurance that the power they produce will be treated as base load? Base load means what? They will he working their machines twenty-four hours. The State Electricity Boards can supply electricity only at peak load exigencies, that > means, they will be working lew. The

[Shri E. Balanandan] means they will be working less. The machines, they will decide. The cost of other will be working full. The cost of the power may go up three or four-fold.

Sir, India is a developing country. We have had our own difficulties. Still, we have been able to build certain things. In 1947, we had 5 companies, with less than Rs.900 crores. Today, we are having 244 Central public sector industries, with a total investment of more than Rs. one lakh crores. When we compare ourselves with the other industrialised countries, we stand tenth in the world. Not only that. Among the Third World countries, India, as a developing country, has made big strides in industrialisation and research and development.

We have power generation of 66,000. 1 do not want to go into the figures, but as I told you, we are producing electricity at the cheapest rate in comparison to that anywhere in the world. Now, new companies are invited. We are in love with foreign companies. They are now coming to produce power here and the cost will be three-four times higher. What will be the result? Our industries which are using power will have to be closed down because of the high cost of power. Immediately de-industrialisation will start.

Next comes the agriculture sector. We are self-sufficient so far as our agricultural production is concerned in many sectors. This is what we are boasting of currently too, but today after taking Mr. Manmohan! Singh's medicine, we have imported J lakh tonnes of wheat, and what is going to come? Subsidy for agricultural sector, water and electricity is reduced and the new electricity that will be supplied will be three times costlier. Therefore, it will adversely affect our agricultural production. India will be more and more dependent on imports for their own food needs. That is the new scenario that is coming. Today we are self-sufficient. If the new medicine of Mr. Manmohan Singh is taken, India will be more and more dependent on imports for our food needs.

So, de»industrialisaticn is one part. Another is agricultural development where our country is more and more going to de-pend on import alone.

I will give another example in electricity sector. When these peoplee are allowed to bring machines, what will happen to our own capacity?

BHEL has established its own capacity, it can produce best of the machines. We are getting orders in competition with global tenders. That means, all the international producers are coming to the market. We go to the market and we win tenders. BHEL wins tenders. Now our BHEL is not given orders. They are kept starving while the other imperialist countries, multinational companies are allowed to bring in their own machines. Therefore, what will happen? BHEL will be closed Let us close it and other public sector companies and then what will happen to 1 1/2 lakh public sector officers who are there? You know them. There are a set of engineers, a set of technicians, and a set of administrators and managers which India has created over the last 40 years. Denskilling is going to start. Our skill will not be utilised. Our R&D base is going to be affected adersely. So, the medicine given by Dr. Manmohan Singh is going to kill our own industrial base, our own R&D base He have to reply on foreign multi-nationals, they are coming here to help us, it is being claimed.

All these claims have nothing to do with facts. As I told you, we have 224 public sector industries. In many areas we have taken our own initiative. For example, in nuclear sector, India is the only developing cocntry which can produce its own design and here we can do everything ourselves without any help from foreign country.

Those skills which we have acquired are not going to be utilised. And, according to Dr. Manmohan Singh's document— that is an authentic document which was laid on the table, about which we are not informed. He wrote to the World Bank that we were going to allow 49 per cent disinvestment in the public sector. Earlier we were told, in the last budget, that is was 20 per cent. All of a- sudden, just before the Parliament session was to start, on November 11 Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Finance Minister of the country, wrote to the World Bank. Parliament

were not consulted. What is the idea? All those public sector companies are going to be privatized slowly. This 49 per cent disinvestment means, what? The Government says that non inflationary finance is being managed by Rs. 2.500 crores worth of shares being sold to some companies, and now it says that Rs. 7,500 crores worth of shares will be sold. And it is said in the document that Dr. Manmohan Singh had sent to the World Bank that privatization was going to be done of the public sector. What do the private employers want? Profits. And they are assured of profits. The profit-making companies are going to given to the private sector, for what? They have not invested anything. Our own money has been invested in this industry and our own people have paid to run profitably, and that profitable industry is going to be given to private employers. Why? Are they superhuman experts? We know, in India today, 3£ lakh private sector industrial units are on the sick list, and this sick list include* Industries owned by Tatas, Birlas and biggest capitalists of the country. Therefore, Sir, can they claim that they are experts? They have their own expertise, I agree with that. At the same time, in the public sector, our own people are more experts than them in many elds. Then how is it that they are going to be given to them for a song? And they need invest nothing. Now a 49 per cent share is to be given to them, and then what are you going to do? The expertise is only with the private sector and so, Birla's son-in-law or son or somebody connected with Manmohan Singh, etc., will be the Managing Director of the company. Then, without much investment he takes the profit. That is the freedom to be given to the private sector employers. The dangerous phenomenon is, I can understand it if it is given to our Indian people, but no. "Equal protection" comes in here. And for whom? For Indian capitalists as well as foreign multinationals. For the workers and employees, this euqality does not apply. You see the situation, what is being given to the working class and what is being given to the capitalist class. The big capitalist takes Rs. 1 lakh crores worth of investment in industry and your friends from multinational companies can come and share it. According to the so-called list that I have referred to, 47 companies are on the sick list but, actually, they are 58. Those companies are to be closed and the workers retrenched And the absolutely wonderful claim of the Government is the National Renewal Fund—do you understand the meaning of it, Sr? Perhaps you know it better than I do. What is to be renewed? In the 47 companies, 31,10,000 workers are employed. In the 58 companies which are on the list, nearly four lakh workers are employed and these four lakh workers have to be sent out of employment. That is how national renewal is going to be done. Can't they call it with the original name? This is retrenchment. The workers are to be sent out. Workers are treated like this. You have to go out of employment, and you can join the ranks of the 10 crore unemployed in the country—three crores and forty lakhs registered unemployed and seven crores rural unemployed, 7 + 3 = 10- Plus now millions of workers are going to be sent out.

The Government of India, Sir, sent circulars to the Central Government establishments to reduce the staff strength by 10 per cent and also to do restructuring. A new word is given. This is Mr. Manmohan Singh's prescription. "Restructuring" means sending out workers. That is restructuring. What is to be restructured? For what? The Telecommunications Department is developing enormously. Big claims are being made by my friend, the Minister. Very good The total number of employees will be reduced by 27,000. In the Income-tax Department, another 26,000. In the GIC, General Insurance Corporation, 40,000. In the Railways, one-fourth, that is, four lakhs.

This way the working class is going to be given the bonanza by Mr. Manmohan Singh-Millions are going to be sent out. All the public sector industries are going to be restructed "Restructuring" means throusands of workers are going to be sent out. So, they are assured, "The Renewal Fund is thert.

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You can eat that Fund". What is that Fund? Rs. 200 crores.

Sir, for your information, I say, there is a committee. The Industrial Com mittee has been formed to discuss this question,. After implementing, declaring that policy, then, the Government of India thought it fit to discuss it with the tirade unions. But they were conscious that these policies of reform they dis cussed with the employers first because their masters are the employers. Though the Indian Constitution gives equal right is exercised by the monopoly capitalists, and they decide everything. They have consulted with them earlier, not with the workers. After implementing this, the workers are being consulted in a committee form. In that Committee, on the 20tb of last month, on the National Renewal Fund Scheme concept paper has been presented before the trade-union leaders- Mr. Ramanujam was there, the INTUC leader. All the trade-union leaders were there. Mr. Ramanujam is a veteran trade-union leader. Even.though I have political differences with him, he is an expert in the eld "Our workers need no Labour Minister." A tem-porar man was there, Mr. Sangma. I don't know whether he has been given permanency. Mr. Sangma told, "All right. This you eat- This is the arrangement. This is something like a medi-cine. The workers will live longer if they take it. Then, all the trade-union leaders collectively told him, "All right. Please take it back. We don't discuss this kind of a scrap of paper saying that workers are going to be retrenched. We have not come here to discuss the retrenchment question." Mr- Ramanujam himself told me that he put that paper into his pocket and went away. What is the claim of the Government?

In that concept paper, with your per-mission I may quote, in para 13 it is . stated:

> "It must be clearly' understood that this Fund can be-utilised only for payment of retftftiehment benefits far supporting workers during their period of training and for training expenses as required."

This is the wording. So, millions of workers would be sent out. You are adding to unemployment.

You are telling us that profit is the prime motto of life. For whom, For the big capitalists, profits. For us? Our own bread is taken away. Not only from these people. What about the banking system? Sir, as you know, people are cheated in America- Hundreds of banks are 'becoming paupers. The monies invested by the ordinary people are being lost. The situation was so here in India too. Then the Government of India thought that our economy could not survive in this way. Therefore, nationalisation of banking was resorted to. It played a key role in our development. Now, all on a sodden, Mr. Manmohan Singh comes and says that this is all bad and everything should be given to the private sector. The private sector is the treatment for all the ills. Report says that about seven lakh employees in banking, 20 lakhs of them in the public sector and 16 lakhs of them in railways- We are not going to submit to your pressures. Mr. Railway Minister, you think that your workers are with you. For the time being, you may think so. But I tell you, on the 29th, a warning bell has been given. On the 29th, the workers of the country said, "No. This policy should not be implemented. This goes against national interests." But you did not take much care. Mr. Manmohan Singh is on his way and he is now ignoring you, the Ministers of the Cabinet and Parliament- You cannot publicity admit it. I know that. Earlier Ministers were complaning that he Was doing things above their heads. Today's Minister also agree privately with me that they do not know anything about what is being done by Mr. Manmohan Singh. If at all. sometimes the Prime Minister also knows. Nobody else knows. The total situation, as I told you, is that our economy is going backwards; a pre-Independience scenario is emerging- Those who love independence feel that our economic sovereignty cannot be pledged

to foreign multi-nationals who. come freely into India and choose where they should come and where they should go. The net result is that the total industrial production has gone down. It was about nine per cent last time and has come down to minus 0.9 per cent this time. We are being taken backwards.

Everybody is now telling us about the World Bank prescription. "With your permission.' Sir, I may quote something about this. There is one gentleman. Michel Chossudovsky who has studied about the prescription given by the World Bank in 74 countries which have taken World Bank loans. He, a Canadian, studied about these 74 countries in which the World Bank prescription was' taken And these 74 countries, Sir, did not come out of their difficulties. To your surprise, the World Bank itself has conducted a study in 34 countries. After manipulating all the figures by themselves, they could not come to the conclusion that the prescription given by it helped these countries too. And today, my friends were talking about the same thing, that the Janata Government had done all the wrongs, etc. I do not want to defend anybody. They can defend themselves. We went to the World Bank earlier too. Even Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our earlier Prime Minister, was cautious. While she went to the World Bank, she immediately tried to get out of it- That was her politics. Then, to our ill-luck, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, became the P.M. He talked of modernisation, and liberalisation. What happened? We went into the trap. You cannot get out of it. When you went into the trao, another Government came, Mr.' Manmohan Singh came, but we arc still in the trap. We cannot easily get out of it. This is a trap laid by the World Bank and we cannot get out of if. The World Bank's prescription is. globalisation of poverty. ' This is their line. We in India, if we go this way. what is going to happen is that our economy will be high-cost , economy-What d*o* we mean by high-cost, economy? Our-salary in dollar terms comes to 15 dollars or 20 dollars per month. One American worker gets 5 to 10 dollars as as his wages for one hour. Our eco nomy is going *to* be integrated with world economy. In India, 90 per cent of the population will not be able to eat and live properly as they lived earlier. Some of our industrialists thinks that they can easily compete with the world economy. What is the situation that is developing in the world. America is a big coun try. They want to export more- Japan wants more exports. Germay wants bigger export. India also wants to export more. But are we children? Don't we know economics a little? We cannot complete with the world market in the present environment where big capitalist countries are frantically exporting things. In this war, we are going to be squeezed. Some people think that all the ills are because of workers. We are -getting the lowest wages in the world but still we are being accused. Today, we are not going to succeed in this export competitions- The reverse is going to happen. Even in food production in which we are self-sufficient today, the food products, rice, wheat, etc are going to be dumped from abroad. Agriculture will become costly and uneconomical. Our own industrial structure will be paralysed. Our R&D will be killed and India will be taken back to the pre-indepen-de-ce scenario. We love the freedom and economic sovereignty of India. India .is a big country, with 85 crores of people. Though we are not financially strong, we are proud of being Indians. We are proud of our technicians, engineers and other experts, who are here.

- They can bring back India on the world .economic map provided the policy followed at the moment is changed- This policy cannot help us. My submission is that this economic restructuring policy of the Goverriment of India is taking the country backward to the pre-indepen-dence scenario..

Now I come to foreign relations. We are now told that we are in love with *VS.* Nobody can complain. But at what cost? Our independence has to be protected properly by strengthening our defence system. We were doing it Earlier, Soviet Union was aiding

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Us in that. Now, Soviet Union is no more. We have our experience- History cannot be forgotten easily. When conflicts with Bangladesh came, we were threatened with Seventh Fleet. When conflicts with Pakistan came, the other side was supported America. They were helping and aiding and training. All the arms were supplied by us. Today we know that the CIA plays with one man on one side and the same OIA plays with another man on the opposite side. A load conflict is created by which arms of Americya can be sold *to* both sides- This is the American diplomacy and policy. What is being done today? Sir, in the month of January, the US Army Commander of the Pacific Forces, Lt. Gen. Johnny Corns visited India. He came in connection with the inaugural meeting of the Indo-US Army Executive Steering Committee. This Committee has been set up on the lines of the proopsals made by Lt. Gen. Kick Leighter the previous Army Commander of the US Armed Forces in the Pacific who made many suggestions for expanding Indo4J5 military cooperation. Among the decisions taken in the Indo-US Executive Steering Committee meeting arc the exchange of forces for training and joint miiltary exercises and developing army-to-army cooperation. Just as Indian army personnel will go to the USA, US armymen wit be stationed at sensitive Indian miiltary installations such as the high altitude Centre at Leh, Ladakh. Tiris is not just exchange of personnel at the highest level alone, but will be much deeper with junior officers being involved.

The visit of the US Army General was immediately followed by the visit of the US Admiral Kelso for discussions with the Indian Navy Chief on joint naval exercises etc. So what is there? We are in love with America, so we are interacting with each other. We are trained there, they are trained here. For what? To do what? To defend-To defend whom and against whom? Sir. this is a very dangerous play. Our country has *to be* self-dependent. It has built up its own army. We have our army personnel. We have to built up something. We can defend ourselves. Our police officers are also asked to go there for training. For what? It means, the sovereignty in defending the country as such from the imperialist enemies is being surrendered. I say "imperialism". But some people think imperialism is lost, imperialism is not there in the world. All the tigers have stopped eating flesh- They have started eating butter and cheese and only cucumber. This is their line of argument. This is all wrong. Today we know in the third world the biggest enemy is imperialism. They are dictating terms to us. The United Nations is hijacked by America and everything is being dictated by America against the third world countries. Therefore, we have to defend, ourselves from the attacks of imperialism which is forgotten by this Government. This is a serious thing. This is a big change from the earlier policy which the Government of India was pursuing- It goes against aur independence. Therefore, we had to keep away from the President's Address. Seeing that this country was being taken backward to pre-independence position we wanted to disassociate ourselves; that is why we are now staging dharnas, strikes etc.

Sir. one more thing I have to refer to, the unity of the country. The President was talking about the Punjab elections which I have dealt with in my earlier speech. I don't want to repeat that. The claim of the Government is a little farther from the truth, far away from the truth. Twenty-one per cent of the people voted, nine or ten per cent votes Congress got and the majority of seats it got The President now tells us that Government wants *to* implement the Rajiv-Iongowal accord. Good. We were taking part in the elections. We have rot defeated. We know. But we con-s'der that India is g-eater than our political party. Political parties are very feat but India is greater than any political party— CongressfD, CPI(M) or CPI. India is very important for us. We wanted *to* give a defeat to extr«m*»m

in Punjab. For that we wanted the people of Punjab to be taken into confidence. For that this Parliament unanimously approved the Rajiv-Longowal accord. We wanted it to be implemented before the elections so that the extremism could be eliminated. The Government of India did not do it.

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Nagas Saikia) in the chair]

What is the result? The result is that the people are divided. Majority of the people are not in the mainstream. They are against us because of gun fear or because of the policies which is pursued. They are against the policy of the Government at the Centre. The new Government is a Government in a Island which cannot go into the villages. A Minister cannot even get out of his office. That is the situation. However, I demand immediate, if you are serious, implementation of this Rajiv-Longowal accord. That will do good. There is also the question of Kashmir where the situation is serious. I don't want to explain that. The Government of India, especially the Congress (I) Party, does not think in the proper light of national necessity. They only see things with the narrow idea of putting their in power. That created the trouble in Kashmir. That created the trouble in Punjab. That is the main reason for many local troubles. Therefore, Sir, as I told, our nation is greater than any political party and, therefore the question of national unity should be taken into account more seriously. Finally, before I conclude I would like to give a warning to the Government that the people of the country are not going to submit to the dictates of the World Bank and the IMF, even though Dr. Manmohan Singh is a product of World Bank which I know. India is greater than him. We don't want such a person who is a Minister of World Bank. We want a Minister for India. He cannot be such a Minister we want. The policies followed by the Government are not ood for (he country. Therefore, I request and demand that this Government itself must go. With these few wordh I conclude.

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का मैं समर्थन करती हूं । मुझसे पूर्व बहुत लोगों ने इसके विषय में काफी कुछ कहा है । वह एक तरह से सरकार की नीतियों का विश्लेषण होता है । सबसे पहले मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी के स्पष्ट निर्णय, बोल्ड डिसिजन के लिए उनको धन्यवाद देती हूं कि उन्होंने एक निर्णय लिया कि पंजाब में चुनाव कराए जाएँ और गृह मंत्री जी को भी धन्यवाद देती हूं कि उन्होंने ऐसे इंतजामात किए कि जिससे लोग आकर वोट दे सकें । मैं विरोधी दलों के साथ सहमत नहीं हूं, कि पंजाब में जो चुनाव कराया गया वह सिर्फ एक तमाशा था । नहीं, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत विनम्रतापूर्वक कहना चाहती हूं कि जो भी लोग निकल सके, जो हिंसा का माहोल था जो आतंकवाद का माहोल था, जो परिस्थिति पिछले वर्ष सालों से पंजाब में बन गयी थी उस परिस्थिति को सामने रख कर सरकार ने एक निर्णय लिया कि पंजाब में प्रतांत्रिक की स्थापना की जाए और प्रजातांत्रिक ढंग से वहां जो यह आतंकवाद का सिलसिला है, हिंसा का सिलसिला है, इस । समस्या का समाधान किया जाए ।

यहां तक कि चुनाव के दरम्यान भी आतंकवादियों ने गांव-गांव में धमकी दी कि अगर कोई भी बाहर निकल करके वोट देंगे, तो उनका गांव नहीं बच पायेगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जान की हिफाजत माल की हिफाजत घर की हिफाजत हरेक कोई चाहता है, कोई भी मरना नहीं चाहता है । ऐसी परिस्थिति के बावजूद लोग निकले । मैं तो अपने अकाली भाइयों से भी बहुत विनम्रता से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि आज एक माहोल बना है, इसमें वह सहयोग दें, क्योंकि सिर्फ राजनीतिक पावन, सत्ता जो है, वही सब कुछ नहीं है ।

[श्रीमती प्रतिमा सिंह]

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि अभी जो सी०पी०आई (एम) के माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे, उन्होंने एक सेंटेंस जो कहा वह जरूर अच्छा कहा कि राजनीति ही आज सब कुछ नहीं है । हमारी राजनीति से भी बडा हमारा देश है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, 1953 से 1958 तक पंजाब में मुझे भी रहने का मौका मिला था और तब क्योंकि मेरे पिताजी, श्री सी०पी०एन० सिंह जो वहां के राज्यपाल थे, मैं वहां उनके साथ थी, । लेकिन पंजाब अभी पार्टीशन की तकलीफ और परेशानी से निकल नहीं पाया था, उसका धनी प्रांत पाकिस्तान में रह गया था, इस तरह किसी तरह की भी प्रगति नहीं थी । इन लोगों ने मजबूती से सामना किया और इन्होंने किसी को यह महसूस नहीं होने दिया कि वे विस्थापित हैं । उन्होंने कडी मेहनत की । हम लोगों ने आंखों से देखा, चाहे वहां की औरतों, बच्चे या जवान हो, हिंदू हों, सिख हों, सब कमर कस करके खडे हो गए और उस परेशानी में भी वहां अमन और चैन के माहोल में चंडीगढ और भाखड़ानांगल का निर्माण हुआ , नहरें बनी, इंडस्ट्री खडी हुई । पंजाब की पर कैपिटा इनकम उस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे ऊंची हो गयी ।

मुझे उन दिनों की याद है जब-गांव गांव में , उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, पंजाब में गिद्दा और भांगडे की धुन सुनाई देती थी आनन्द और उल्लास था और जब पंजाबी बडी मस्ती में गाता था बैसाखी के दिन कि --

यह देश है वीर जवानों का,
मस्तानों का अलबेलों का,
इस देश का यारों क्या कहना ।

इस देश में पंजाब की प्रगति को देख कर पड़ौसी देश को जलन हो उठी, पाकिस्तान के लोग परेशान हो गए कि पार्टीशन के बाद पंजाब खड़ा हो गया, लेकिन पाकिस्तान अभी तक खड़ा नहीं हो सका । यह पंजाबियों की हिम्मत थी ।

मैं तो उन दिनों की याद सिर्फ़ पंजाबियों को दिलाना चाहती हूं कि आज जब प्रजातांत्रिक सरकार वहां बनी है और वोट से बनी है, चाहे कम वोट से बनी, है, फिर भी बनी तो वोट से है । उस सरकार की हर प्रकार से किसी भी पार्टी के हों, जनता को सरकार का साथ देकर वहां से आतंकवाद और टैरोरिज्म को दूर करना है, उस समस्या का समाधान करना है ।

राजीव-लोंगोवाल की बात हो या और भी समस्या हो, बातचीत के द्वारा वह खत्म की जाए । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री पी० वी० नरसिंहराव हमेशा बात करने को तैयार है । वह कभी किसी बात में हिचकिचाते नहीं हैं । उनके अंदर हिम्मत है और उनकी सरकार में भी हिम्मत है । यह जो टैरोरिज्म का माहौल आरंभ हुआ, उनकी पड़ौसी देश में ट्रेनिंग आरम्भ हुई . . . और निरपराध लोगों की हत्या हुई । गांव के गांव जलाए गए । बसें जलाई गईं । जिन लोगों ने कोई अपराध नहीं किया था उनको जान से मार डाला गया । उनका जीना कठिन हो गया है । इस परिस्थिति का निराकरण करना ही होगा । इसलिए मैं तो बार-बार विनम्रतापूर्वक वहां की जनता को भी कहूंगी, वहां के सिख फैडरेशन को भी कहूंगी, वहां के अकाली नेताओं को भी कहूंगी और अपने राज्य सभा के विरोधी दल के सदस्यों से भी आग्रह करूंगी कि आज एक महौल बना है, आप मेहरबानी करके वहां के बच्चों, औरतों और वहां के नौजवानों के लिए पंजाब की परिस्थिति को सुधारने की कोशिश में, चेष्ठा में सक्रिय रहें । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जम्मू-काश्मीर में भी प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है कि म्युनिसिपल चुनाव कराने की सोच रहे हैं । अगर चुनाव ठीक से हो जाएं तो फिर असेंबली और पार्लियामेंट के भी चुनाव हो सकते है । वहां का महौल भी बहुत खराब हो गया है । आज के अखबार में है कि मीर कासिम जैसे सुलझे हुए नेता के रिश्ते-

बारों को ले गए। रोज ही ऐसी घटनाएं अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं । इसलिए वहां के लिए भी सोचना पड़ेगा। लेकिन उससे भी ज्यादा जरूरी है कि काश्मीर से जो लोग अपने घर छोड़कर आज विस्थापित है, जो आज दिल्ली में पड़े हुए हैं, वापस किसी दिन जायेंगे, पर अब तक जा नहीं सके, उनको जितनी भी मदद हम दे सकें वह दें । उनके बच्चों की पढ़ाई की सबसे ज्यादा दिक्कत उनको है, एड-मिशन्स भी स्कूल में नहीं मिलते और उन्हें चिन्ता है कि अगर सर्टेन एज लिमिट में पढ़ाई नहीं हो सकी तो आगे उनके बच्चों को नौकरी नहीं मिल सकेगी । टैरोरिज्म खत्म करने के लिए कोई भी उपाय, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कोई भी तरीका, अगर हमें दूसरे देशों से भी सीखना पड़े तो कोई हर्ज नहीं है। अभी हाल में राज्य सभा में प्रश्नोत्तरकाल में इसी सबन में इस्राइल पर चर्चा हुई थी कि वहां टैरोरिज्म को काबू में लाने के कई तरीके उन लोगों ने सोचे हुए हैं, अगर विचार और समाधान के लिए मदद लेना चाहें तो जरूर लें । आसाम में "उल्फा" से बात-चीत करके वहां के हिंसा के वातावरण को यदि कम किया जा सकता है तो जरूर दूसरी जगहों में भी कम किया जा सकता है । वहां बोडो की भी समस्या सुलझानी होगी । लेकिन एक बात कहूंगी कि आसाम में भी यह समस्यायें, जब कांग्रेस के मुख्य मंत्री आए हैं सैकिया साहब तो उन्होंने जितनी अच्छी तरह से, जितनी शांति से, जितना धीरज से सुलझाने की कोशिश की है, वैसे और लोगों ने नहीं की है ।)

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सरकार का ध्यान बिहार में गया जिला स्थित टेकारी थाना के बारा गांव में हुई दुर्घटना के विषय में ले जाना चाहती हूं । सभी को अखबारों से मालूम है कि बारा ग्राम में 12 और 13 की रात को भीषण नरसंहार हुआ । एक ही जाति के पुरुषों को कोई 37 से 49 लोगों को, जो सब 2–3 बीघा से ज्यादा जोत वाले नहीं थे सब छोटे किसान हैं, उनके गले रेत कर, हाथ-पैर बांध कर, उन्हें मार डाला गया । बंदूक चलाने से आस-पास के गांवों में खबर हो जाती इसलिए बन्दूक नहीं चलाई गई, गला रेतने का काम अख्तियार किया । बहुत से घर ऐसे हैं उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां मुखाग्नि देने वाला एक आदमी, एक बच्चा नहीं बचा, सिर्फ विधवाएं ही बच गई । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उनकी विधवाओं के रोजी-रोटी का क्या होगा, यह सरकार को सोचना चाहिए । जाहिर है कि ऐसी परिस्थिति में तो आक्रोश होगा ही । कैसे नहीं होगा ? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर हम और आप होते तो हमारे अन्दर ज्यादा आक्रोश होता । यह किसने किया ? माओवादी कम्युनिस्ट सैन्टर (एम०सी०सी० जो मध्य बिहार में सबसे खूंखार आंदोलन है, उन लोगों ने हत्या की है । हमारे दोनों गृह मंत्री बारा ग्राम में परिस्थिति का जायजा लेने गए । पहले माननीय जैकब साहब गए । उनके पास रिपोर्ट है ।

बाद में माननीय चव्हाण साहब गए । उनके पास भी पूरी रिपोर्ट है । राज्यपाल महोदय ने भी अपनी पूरी रिपोर्ट दी है। कांग्रेस के वहां की विधान सभा के लीडर ऑफ अपोजीशन श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र वहां 60–70 एम०एल०ए० को लेकर गए और लोगों को सांत्वना देने की कोशिश की । इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे कुछ प्रश्न हैं कि अभी तक इस घटना से संबंधित कितने लोग पकड़े गए ? जिन लोगों के घर के लोग मारे गए हैं, उनके पास कैश और काइंड में क्या राहत पहुंचायी गयी है ? इस गांव में और आसपास के गांवों में जो दहशत फैली हुई है, उनके जान और माल की सुरक्षा के क्या इंतजाम हो रहे हैं ? मुख्य मंत्री ने क्या रिपोर्ट दी है ? उनके पास कोई पूर्व सूचना थी कि नहीं क्योंकि कम्प्लीट रिस्पांसिबिलिटी इस तरह की घटनाओं के लिए वहां के मुख्य मंत्री और राज्य सरकार की होती है ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस विषय में मैं सरकार को थोड़ीसी जानकारी देना चाहती

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

हूं क्योंकि ऐसी घटनाएं जब होती हैं, इसके पहले भी एक-दो घटनाएं हुई हैं, तो कोई औचित्य नहीं है कि मुख्य मंत्री कह सकें कि इस प्रदेश में हिंसा का वातावरण नहीं है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार के पास जानकारी अवश्य होगी कि पिछले कई वर्षों से मध्य बिहार के कुछ जिलों में आतंकवाद का प्रभाव बढ़ा है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वहां तीन पार्टियां सक्रिय हैं—पार्टी यूनिटी, लिबरेशन फ्रंट और एम०सी०सी० जिनमें एम०सी०सी० सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, थे थोड़ा इस के इतिहास से जाना चाहूंगी वर्ष 71–72 में कन्हाई चटर्जी के नेतृत्व में एम०सी०सी० का आर्गनायजेशन शुरू हुआ और रंगाबाद के मदनपुर ग्राम से इनका कार्यक्रम आरंभ हुआ । इसके बाद एक प्रोफेसर साहब एम०सी०सी० के नेता बने। फिर कोई बंगाली बाबू बने । इस तरह यह कार्यक्रम धीरे-धीरे चलता रहा और पिछले तीन चार सालों से इसने जोर पकड़ा । वर्ष 1989 तक एम०सी०सी० का असर औरंगाबाद, गया, पलांबू, गिरिडीह इत्यादि तक ही था, किंतु पिछले तो सालों में यह जहानाबाद, नालंदा, पूर्वी चंपारन, मुंगेर और पटना तक फैल गया है । कहा जाता है कि एम०सी०सी० के पास 60 सशस्त्र दस्ते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, समय का अभाव है इसलिए थे इस विषय में अधिक विस्तार में नहीं जाकर थोड़े में कहना चाहती हूं । मैं चाहूंगी कि बिहार को इस वातावरण से अलग किया जाय और जब हमारे दोनों गृह मंत्री वहां की हालत को देखकर आए हैं तो उन्हें कोई-न-कोई एक्शन भी लेना ही होगा । तो जांच करें कि हिंसा का वातावरण बिहार में क्यों बढ़ रहा है? क्या इसके कारण में सिर्फ जातिवाद है और अगर है तो क्या सभी दल के लोग जातिवाद को राजनीतिक हथियार बनना छोड़ देंगे ? क्या इतनी हिम्मत है उनके अंदर क्या भ्रष्टाचार है ? ऑपरेशन सिद्धार्थ क्यों फेल कर गया इन जिलों में ? 25 नक्सलवाद प्रभावित क्षेत्रों के विकास के लिए 31 करोड़ 10 लाख रुपए का बजट 17 अक्तूबर, 1988 को शुरू हुआ, उसका हिसाब-किताब कहीं है ? कैसे लिया, क्या हुआ किसी को जानकारी है ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बारा की नृशंस घटना को केन्द्र बिंदु बनाकर बिहार को दूसरा पंजाब, दूसरा जम्मू-काश्मीर या दूसरा आसाम बनाने की कोशिश को रोकना अत्यंत आवश्यक है वहां के लोग शांतिप्रिय हैं । वे आम तौर पर हिंसा की तरफ नहीं जाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन सही बात यह है कि पंजाब की घटनाएं अखबार में आती रही हैं वरना बिहार में भी कोई कम घटनाएं कि पिछले दो-तीन सालों में नहीं हुई हैं । एक जगह की घटना का बदला दूसरी जगह और दूसरी जगह की घटना का बदला तीसरी जगह, क्या इसका कभी अंत होगा ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी जाति में जन्म लेना कोई अपराध तो नहीं है, कोई अपने हाथ की बात तो नहीं है । आपके वश में नहीं था कि आप किसी विशेष परिवार में या किसी विशेष जाति में जन्म लेते । क्या ह आपकी सजा होगी ? मेरा पूछना है । इसीलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत विनम्रता से आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहती हूं कि बिहार से अगर जातिवाद, भ्रष्टाचार और पिछड़ापन दूर नहीं किया गया तो कुछ भी संभव है, कोई भी कार्यक्रम वहां सफल नहीं होगा। बिहार में खनिज पदार्थ बहुत हैं, वहां बड़ी-बड़ी नदियां हैं, सब कुछ प्राप्त है, वहां जनसंख्या है, लेबर अवलेबल हैं, लेकिन बिहार फिर भी पिछड़ा हुआ है। क्यों ?. मेरा यही प्रश्न बार-बार है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में टूरिज्म बढ़ाने की बात की है । यहां पर, मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूं कि हमारे भारत के टूरिज्म को, विशेषकर अंडमान निकोबार द्वीप समूह में घूमने की अधिक सुविधाएं दी जानी चाहिएं और सस्ती सुविधाएं दी जानी चाहिएं । अभी हमारी सब-आर्डिनेट लेजिस्लेशन कमेटी वहां गई थी। हम लोगों ने वहां सेलूलर जेल, काला पानी की सजा भारत के आजादी के

दीवानों के लिए कैदियों की जेल देखी वहां जाकर हमको पता लगा कि हकीकत में भारत का तीर्थ स्थान है तो यह सेलूलर जेल ही है। आज मैं आपके माध्यम से यह पूछना चाहती हूं कि दामोदर सावरकर को हिंदुस्तान के कितने लोग जानते हैं, जिनको 50 साल की काला-पानी की सजा हुई थी और कठोर से कठोर यातनाएं दी गई थीं। हम में से कितने लोग आज उनको याद करते हैं? हममें से किन-किन लोगों को मालूम है? और, अगर मालूम होता तो शायद हम सब बहुत से अपने स्वार्थों को भूलकर देश को प्रगति के रास्ते पर चलाने लग जाते। वैसे भी वह आइलैंड बहुत सुंदर है। सरकार को इस पर टी०वी० सीरियल बनाना चाहिए। टूरिज्म मंत्री सिंधिया जी नए प्रयोग एडवेंचर्ज टूरिज्म के कर रहे हैं और आशा की जाती है कि पर्यटक इस तरफ काफी आकर्षित होंगे। ट्रेडिशनल जगहों से हटकर हम नोन-ट्रेडिशनल जगहों में जा रहे हैं, कैम्प लगा रहे हैं, घूमने की व्यवस्था हो रही है। इसमें भी काफी हद तक सफलता मिली है। किन्तु, यह तो तभी और ज्यादा सफल होगा, जैसा राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हमारा फारेन एक्सचेन्ज अर्न करने का एक यह बहुत सुगम तरीका है कि हम विदेशों में मास-मीडिया द्वारा सुन्दर और दर्शनीय स्थानों का प्रचार करें, उनके खूबसूरत ब्रोशर्स निकालें और अधिक से अधिक जानकारी दें। इससे ग्रुप टूरिस्ट्स बाहर से आएंगे और हमें उनका लाभ पहुंचेगा।

दूसरी बात, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एम्प्लयमेंट की है। अधिक काम देने की योजनाओं पर भी विचार हो रहा है सरकार की तरफ से। मैं इस संबंध में एक-दो बातों की तरफ आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूं कि जैसे रेलवे में छोटी लाईन को बड़ी लाईन में कन्वर्ट करने की योजना है, इससे बहुत लोगों को काम मिलेगा। मेरा कहना यह है कि बिहार में और आसाम में छोटी लाईन बहुत अधिक है, उनको अगर बड़ी लाईन में कन्वर्ट किया जाए तो हमारे पिछड़े प्रदेश जहां बेरोजगारी बहुत ज्यादा है वहां के लोगों को काम मिलने की सुविधा होगी। इसलिए इसके लिए राशि आवण्टित की जाए क्योंकि पिछड़ापन और गरीबी ही बिहार में हिंसा का कारण बनती जा रही है।

महोदय, राजस्थान में मरुभूमि का विस्तार होता जा रहा है, जो बड़ी चिंता की बात है। इसीलिए जापान के कोलेबोरेशन से डेजर्ट को कंटेन करने की योजना शीघ्र ही कार्यान्वित होने जा रही है। मेरा ख्याल है कि प्रधानमंत्री जी भी डर जाने वाले हैं। इस योजना से भी लोगों को एम्पलायमेंट मिलेगा और कुछ भूमि भी खेती के लिए निकल आएगी शायद।

महोदय, नदी के पानी की व्यवस्था पंजाब, हरियाणा, कर्नाटक, तमिलनाडु आदि प्रदेशों में बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। जितनी जल्दी सरकार इस समस्या का समाधान करेगी उतना ही देश आगे बढ़ सकेगा। मैं कहूंगी कि दोनों प्रदेशों के लोगों को सोचना चाहिए कि जब खेती के लिए, पीने के लिए, हर चीज के लिए पानी आवश्यक है और यह प्रकृति और भगवान की देन है क्योंकि हमने नहीं बनाया है, तो इसे बांट कर क्यों न लें कि दोनों को फायदा हो जाए। इसमें झगड़े की क्या बात है?...

गांवों में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था के लिए टैक्नोलॉजी मिशन ऑन ड्रिंकिंग वाटर फॉर रूरल एरियाज का नया नाम राजीव गांधी नेशनल ड्रिंकिंग वाटर मिशन किया गया है। इसके साथ-साथ उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसमें काम जोर से चलना चाहिए क्योंकि अभी भी बहुत से गांव हैं जहां साफ पीने का पानी उपलब्ध नहीं है, खासकर के अभी भी हरिजन टोले में, आदिवासी जगहों में और भी कई जगहों पर, पीने के पानी की दिक्कत है, इस पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही गांव से शहर की तरफ आने वालों की भीड़ बहुत बढ़ती जा रही है। गांव में जब तक स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा पीने का पानी तथा रोजगार उपलब्ध नहीं होगा तो यह भीड़ बढ़ती जाएगी और यह भीड़ बढ़कर शहरों में काफी कठिन

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

समस्या उत्पन्न कर रही है। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि हम वहां उनका प्रबंध करें और पंचायती राज को मजबूत करें। राजीव गांधी जी की इच्छा थी कि पंचायती राज को वहां मजबूत करें क्योंकि पंचायत ही जान सकती है कि उनको क्या प्रियारिटीज हैं, कौन से काम उनके पहले होने हैं। इसलिये मैं आग्रह करूंगी कि उस पर ध्यान दिया जाये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार कानून को पास कर देती है परन्तु उसके साथ रूल्स सरकारी दफ्तरों में 10–10, 20–20 साल नहीं बन पाते हैं। एक छोटा सा उदाहरण मैं दूंगी कि दिल्ली रेंट कंट्रोल बिल पास हो गया कई साल पहले, दिल्ली अपार्टमेंट बिल पास हो गया कई साल पहले लेकिन आज तक उसके रूल्स फ्रेम नहीं हो पाये हैं। तो जिस काम के लिये हम कानून पास करते हैं और उसका जो जनता को फायदा मिलना चाहिये, वह नहीं मिल पाता। इसी में नहीं बल्कि बैंकिंग में, लाइफ इंशोरेंस में और कई जगहों पर यह रूल्स 10–10, 20–20 साल से नहीं बने हैं, और उनके एम्प्लाइज के लिये जो कानून पास हुए हैं उसमें रूल्स नहीं होने से एम्प्लाइज को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ है। सबोरडिनेट लेजिस्लेशन कमेटी में रहने की वजह से इसके विषय में काफी जानकारी मालूम हुई है।

नेपाल के साथ संबंध सुधारने से विशेष फायदा बिहार और यू० पी० को है। इसका कारण है कि जितनी हमारी नदियां हैं वे सब नेपाल की तरफ से आती हैं। तो अगर हमारे संबंध अच्छे रहें तो इसमें बड़े बांध बन सकते हैं, समय पर उन्हें पानी मिल सकता है और हमारे व्यापार बढ़ सकते हैं। जो चीजें उनके पास हैं वे हमारे पास आ सकती हैं और हमारी चीजें उनके बाजार में जा सकती हैं और तराई का एरिया तो ज्यादातर हमारे ही भाई-बंधुओं से भरा पड़ा है।

एक और आग्रह है अरबन मिनिस्ट्री से, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि दिल्ली में भी कांस्टीट्यूशन लैंड हास्पिटल बनाने के लिये रियायती दरों पर जगह-जगह पर देने की गुंजाइश करें। दक्षिण भारत में इधर टेलीविजन पर मुझे देखने का मौका मिला है कि इतने अच्छे हास्पिटल्स बने हैं मगर हम उत्तर भारत के लोगों को दक्षिण भारत जाने में दिक्कत होती है– ज्यादा पैसा लगता है और परेशानी भी होती है घर से दूर होने के कारण। तो मेरा आग्रह है कि अगर इसका प्रबंध हो सके तो बहुत अच्छी बात होगी।

सरकार ने राष्ट्रीय महिला आयोग की स्थापना करके महिलाओं के मन में आशा उत्पन्न की है कि जीवन के सभी क्षेत्रों में उनको समुचित न्याय मिल सकेगा, खासकर के उनके दहेज संबंधी मामले हैं, या संपत्ति में अधिकार हैं या काम करने के अधिकार हैं या छुट्टी की जो समस्या है और उसमें वेतन की जो समस्या है, इन सबमें उन्हें सुविधा मिल सकेगी।

मुझसे पहले वक्ता ने जो बात कही कि यह नरसिंह राव की सरकार जो है यह हर क्षेत्र में प्राइवेटाइजेशन की ही सोचती है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। कांग्रेस की सरकार ने ही पब्लिक सैक्टर की भी योजना की, पब्लिक सैक्टर्स बनाए। तो आज की सरकार भी उससे कोई अलग नहीं जा रही है। हां कुछ क्षेत्र में यह जो प्राइवेट सैक्टर हैं उसके लोग भी तो हमारे भारतीय ही हैं, अगर उन्हें कुछ फायदा होता है और सरकार को देश को आगे बढ़ाने में सुविधा होती है तो उसमें नुकसान भी क्या है? वहां से जो राशि बचेगी वह ग्राम विकास में खर्च होगी। हरेक चीज जो सरकार करे वह बुरी ही हो, यह तो कोई जरूरी नहीं है।

इन सब बातों की तरफ मैं अपने कुछ सुझाव देते हुये, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है, उसका समर्थन करती हूं। आपने मुझे इतना समय दिया, उसके लिये धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA); Mr. Yashwant Sinha— not here. Dr. Vijaya Mohan Reddy wants to speak tomorrow. Now, Shri Murasoli Maran.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Mr, Vice. Chairman, Six, for those who expected that the President's Address would be an agenda of actions and programmes of this Government, of the various Ministries, this Address has come as a great disappointment. 1 would say it contains mere plattudes and sweetnothings.

Sir, the President's Address starts with paying a tribute to the brave people of Punjab and congratulating them for the courage they have displayed in reaffirming their faith in the democratic process. Sir, we all know that what happened in Punjab is a mockery of a Poll- I would ask the ruling party Members that they should search their heart and reply to these questions: Why did they boycott the polls scheduled in last December when all Akali groups and many extremists were willing to participate? After the ooycott, why have the Congress Party postponed and subsequently nullified the elections? And after coming back to power, why did they not create proper claimate to secure the support of the Sikh groups without whose help elections could not be conducted in a meaningful way? Sir, now it is ridiculous that with about 8 to 9 per cent of votes, polling booths and exercise their vote, they have formed a Government. We know how in Kashmir once they have rigged the polls. All our policemen, all our Intelligence agencies were used to rig the poll. Then, Sir, in your State, in Assam, I think in 1983, when AGP and other parties boycotted the poll, they conducted a mockery of a poll. And this is the third time that such an undemocratic thing is happening.

Sir, there is a heart-rending story. The Government assured that all protection will be given for those who go to the polling booths and exercise their vote. And what happened was that on that election day, in the TV they beamed false information. Even in the morning, it seems they have told the people that 40 pet cent people have voted, people are standing in the queue and so rush up to the polling tooth. Sir, believing that, five boys in * place called Dubali, who are all youngester aged 22, 20, 19, 23 and 19—all at the prime of their youth—who belonged to the Bahujan Samaj Party went to the polling booth thinking that they would not be the first five because the TV was saying that 40 per cent has gone to the polls. But, what turned out later was that they were the first five to vote. Sir, on the 24th February, during night time, the terrorists came to the 5 persons' houses. Sir, here is- a news item which said, "they took the five to the outskirts of the village, tied their hands and shot them dead." Sir, two hours later, 25 villagers took courage to walk to the police Post at Kumani village. All that the guardians of the law would promise was to send a wireless message to the police in the nearby town. 5 00 P.M. No help came. Then, next morning, they went to Karar police station and reported the incident. Untiil 25th evening, not a single officer visited the village. Where were they? Where were the senior officers who assured the people of Punjab that their lives will be protected if they went and exercised their vote? Here is a story from the *Hindu.* "They were all at a lunch hosted by Punjab Governor, Mr. Surendra Nath." Sir, every Indian should hang his head in shame because this Government failed to protect the lives of live youngsters who exercised their democratic right as citizens of India.

Sir, I want to ask a question. What have you achieved by this poll Mr. Amarendra Singh's Kabul group was the only group which was identifying itself with Congress. Now he says it is a victory for Pakistan because Pakistan was all along wanting Congress to come back to power in Punjab.

I would like to ask the Government Do you have a post-poll strategy for Punjab? If you have one, it should have been spelt out in the President's Address. But no. There is a sentence: "The Ra-iiv-Longowal Accord was a step in this direction. The presence of elected representatives will strengthen a meaaingfuf

[Shri Murasoli Maran]

dialogue on the participation in the process of all sections of the State." Like a parrot they have been repeating about implementation of Rajiv-Longowal Accord for so many years. I would like to ask them; Who prevented you from implementing that Accord? Nobody prevented you. You have been using article 356 against the Akali Governments so that they should not be in power for long; you dismissed Barnala government on the fatuous plea that it could not put down violence. But the reason was different. You wanted to please the voters of Haryana. But the end result was, the Haryana people also did not vote for you. You lost both; you lost Punjab as well as Haryana.

Sir, from the wider angle, I would say, the Punjab crisis demands a new approach to Centre-State relations. I am very- happy to note what Mr. Kalyan Singh, the hon. Chief Minister of U.P. stated recently and I quote from the press report: "The Chief Minister Kalyan Singh today exhorted the need for making States economically idependent and stronger. He suggested redetermination of resource areas of the Centre and State to check State's economic dependence on the Centre." Again he says: "The States do not have a better standing than municipalities before the Centre in economic sphere." He wanted redetermination Of resource areas It is a welcome move. The rightsist party, the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Chief Minister of the biggest State in India say that there should be reconsideration of the Centre-State relations. That is what the Left says: that is what all the parties in India demand. While you are hellbent on creating market friendliness, why are you shy about State friendliness? I ask this question. While you are opening up the economy to democratic forces and you say that the so-called democratic forces should prevail in the market, why are you hesitating to create a sense of democracy in your relationship" with the States?

We should not stop at the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission alone because we know the recommendations are an apologyia for *status quoism.* We know how it was instituted, how it was constituted by Mrs. Gandhi. At that time, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde was the Chief Minister of Karnataka. He convened a conference of Chief Ministers of Oppositon-ruled States. There was a fear in the mind of the Centre that they would form a committee on their own to go into Centre-State relationship. Therefore, to preempt that attempt by the Opposition, the then Central Government, Mrs. Gandhi's Government, appointed the Sarkaria Commission. Therefore, its recommenadtions are not at all meaningful. They will not bring about federalism at all in this country.

I would say, there is an urgent need for a second look at the Constitution to ensure a genuine and wholesome federalism. If at all we have an example, we have a precedent, it is the precedent, of Canada. In Canada, there is one Quebec. If Canada has one Quebec, India has 25 Quebecs, many of them active, some of them dormant, and the others are in the making. Therefore, a genuine federal structure would be more than half way towards bringing peace in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. It is very essential for a stable and strong India.

In this context, I would like to bring to the notice of the House' that, in Punjab, while the democratic process was on, leaders of some Akali groups were arrested under TADA. Mr. Badal, Mr. Mann and others were arrested. Why? Just because they were going about asking the people to boycott the elections. Is it an offence under TADA? The freedom of speech is enshrined in our Constitution. It is a sacred freedom. It is a Fundamental Right provided to us by our founding fathers. Especially, during election time it gets supermacy Without that, you connot have elections. While a citizen has the Tight to go and ask the people to vote for a particular party or a particular candidate, can be not

have the same right to go and tell the people 'Don't vote; boycott the elections'? For that, can a person be arrested? How is it justified? How is it justifiable? For saying this, for asking the people to boycott the electons, Mr. Badal and Mr. Mann were arrested under TADA. I shudder to think. It is a clear example. Even in Punjab, where terrorism is thriving, TADA s misused, used against persons who are doing ther democratic duty and therefore I would urge the Government to release them forth with.

Sir, it has also been reported in the news-papers. In Rajasthan, hundreds of persons were arrested under TADA. I am told, most of them, ninety per cent of them, happen to be either Muslims or Sikhs. Therefore, they have formed a Committee called the Rajasthan TADA Relief Committee for securing the release/ of these persons. We know that in other States also, it is being misused.

Recently, Mr. Kannabiran—you must have heard about him; he is a human rights activist—held a Press conference here. There, he revealed a startling information that an urchin was arrested under TADA, in Hyderabad. Was he flaunting a AK-47 rifle? No. Was he proclaiming hmiself as an agent of Pakistan? No. Was he saying that the Hyderabad of India should be annexed with toe Hyderabad of Pakistan? No. He was deflatng the tyres of some cars parked in a bazar ! For that he was arrested under TADA. This is very shameful. This is very painful.

We all know that the Supreme Court has held in Usmanbhai Dawoodbhai case that TADA was a drastic measure, and that it should not, ordinarily, be resorted to unless the law enforcement machinery fails. So, it is a very clear case. In the name of TADA innocent people and urchins are being arrested in Hyderabad. Muslims and Sikhs are being arrested in Madhya Pradesh. In Tamil Nadu the target is the DMK activists DK activists and other social activists. It is really painful to know that TADA is being used where tranquility is prevailing, where ether penal laws are available, where there is no special class of offenders indulging in terrorist and disruptive activities. It is a total negation of democratic rights and civil liberties.

[The V ice-Chairman (Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan) in the Chair]

Why are they using TADA Sir... f *I.Iterruptions).* .. Madam, TADA raises presumption of guilt.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Why? Is she not going to interrupt you?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I have given a promise that I will not talk ill of her party.

TADA places extra restrictions on bail and enhances punishments. So, they are all based on illegal, manipulated and distorted statements. If this continues, what will happen to our civil liberties and human rights? Are we living under the oppressive regime of Khomeini of Iran? No, it is a land of Gandhiji. It is a land where Shri Narasimha Rao is the Prime Minister. It is the greatest democratic country of the world. If India is respected in the comity of nations, it is not because we are a super power or we are capable of manufacturing a nuclear weapon, it is because we are one of the greatest democracies in the world, the most populous democracy in the world. We respect human rights. We have the Fundamental Rights. And if those sacred rights are violated, what should the f people do? Naturally, we have to bring it to the notice of the highest forum, that is, the Parliament, the Prime Minister, because it is a Central Act. At that time when this Bill was passed, in both the Houses the then Law Minister, Mr. A. K. Sen, had assured that this law would never be mis-used. But it is being misused. It is being misused not only in Tamil Nadu but elsewhere, in Madhya Pradesh, in Andhra Pradesh. In the name of encounters innocent people are killed. So, what should the

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people do if you are not listening today? The father of the nation Gandhiji has taught us how to fight an oppressive law and an authoritarian Government. If thousands and millions come forward and say, arrest us, under TADA like you arrested other innocent persons what will happen? What will happen if the Government does not listen and we seek help of the international fora who fight for human rights and civil liberties? So, the people cannot permit their legitimate human rights and civil liberties are violated. Before mass upsurge takes place, I would request the Government—because it happens to be a Central law—to send adequate guidelines that it should not be misused. The peoples' associations in Rajasthan have also said that they do not object to their fair trials and even punishment for those found guilty, but they would like normal laws to be applied instead of TADA which makes life virtually difficult. There are several penal laws. Make use of them. But if you use TADA which undermines the civil liberties and human rights, p;ople will not be sitting quiet. Our good name of India will be in mud in international forums.

Madam, there is one paragraph hi which the President has stated:

> "Every effort should be made to resolve, through dialogue, all disputes relating to the use of waters of any inter-State river. Should this not be possible, Government will ensure expeditious settlement of disputes through an adjudication machinery set up by a law for the purpose."

We know that it obviously refer to the Cauvery waters dispute and I need not delve into the past. We know the history. During the last twenty-five years, both the Government of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, together with Pondicherry and Kerala had talks for about 26 times but noihing happened. SQ, during the DMK regime the Legislative Assembly passed a unani-snous resolution saying that hereafter talks are not possible and we cannot resolve the disputes by talks. Then, based on that esotution the then Central Government; appeared before the Supreme Court and said that this is the situation, the Tamil Nadu Assembly says they are not prepared, there is no use, you can do whatever you want. Then the Supreme Court appoints a Tribunal. Then the Tribunal says, we have no powers to issue interim orders. Then the Tamil Nadu Government goes to the Supreme Court and gets an order in wnich the Supreme Court says, yes, the Tribunal has got the authority to give interim orders. Then the Tamil Nadu Government goes to the Tribunal. It issues an interim order— and 1 need not go into the details because honourable Mr. Chidambaram is here and I know that Cauvery has created a lot of problems for him and others al>o. And what happened? Finally it had been published in the Gazette. So, what should be the duty of the Central Government? If at all there is a Central Government in a federation, its duty is to seek to vindicate the honour of the Supreme Court and to states disputes between the States. But, instead of that, the problem was taken to the streets in Karnataka—I don't want to go into that problem. Finally, in tire second week of February, the honourable Prime Minister holds a conference of Chief Ministers. We don't know what was the purpose of that conference. The DMK Party boycotted the all-party leaders meeting and warned, let's not participate in the meeting, it is a trap, and whatever we have gained would be lost in that meeting. But, Madam, the honourable Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu attends the conference and was a parly to a joint statement, and then comes out and says that it was "an exercise in futility." Madam, what to think of this? I would say, it is a joint effort by the Centre and the State to sabotage the Tribunal.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Which State?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Naturally, our State, Tamil Nadu.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: i am sorry. .. . *(Interruptions).* ..

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: It was to sabotage the Tribunal and the interim order and to send signals to the Tribunal that

Its judicial orders would be nullified by the political authorities. Madam, this is not a good sign. .. *(Interruption)* ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Let him speak.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am not objecting to dialogues. Twenty-six times we have had dialogues. What is the use of participating in a dialogue and then come out saying that it is an exercise in futility? . .. *(Interruptions)*.. .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN 'SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please continue.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: We came there because sharing of the watirs is for the State and the honourable Prime Minister wanted us to come and talk, because sharing of waters was there. Even before the meeting we clearly said that we were not there to compromise our position and our position was that the matter be takes to the Tribunal and whatever decision had been taken... *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I agree with him. The Chief Minister participated...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): But she was a party to the joint statement.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Joint statement was a generality...(Interruptions) Even before she came, she said that she was not Willing to compromise our position. Apart from that, if the Prime Minister wants to talk anything regarding sharing of the waters, how they are to be shared. .. . *(Interruptions)* . . .

SHRI M. VINCENT (Tamil Nadu): Our leaders . . *(Interruptions)* . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Vincent, Please sit down... *(Interruptions)...Mr.* Vincent, please sit down. Kindly let Mr. Maran to speak. Please sit down. *(Interruptions)* ..

Mr. Swaminathan, kindly iet Mr. Maran to speak. When the AIADMK's turn comes, you can clarify the position. Kindly let Mr. Maran continue. Please sit down. *(interruptions).* Mr. Vincent, please sit down. 1 cannot allow this.

SHRI M. VINCENT: We have not surrendered the rights of Tamil Nadu.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You can say it when your turn comes, please.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: He withdrew the case and went for the talk. *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please, let him continue.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Do you know the background or not? That was requested by Madam Indira Gandhi.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam Indira Gandhi wanted that.. .*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Swaminathan, please let hm continue now.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, I was the person who filed that petition in the Supreme Court. I withdrew it because at that time.. .*(Interruptions)* ..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Vincent pleased sit down. Otherwise what you are saying will not go on record.

SHRI M. VINCENT: Why will it not go on record?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Because you are speaking without my permission.

SHRI M. VINCENT: Who is speaking with your permission?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Maran is speaking with my permission.

SHRI M. VINCENT: Have I no right to speak here?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No. *(Interruptions)*

When your turn comes, you can speak.

SHRI M. VINCENT: Have 1 no right to speak about our Government?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I am sorry you don't have it.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You cannot disturb him.

SHRI M. VINCENT: I am not disturbing him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please sit down, Mr. Vincent. Please sit down. Please don't interrupt.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: For clarification, I was the person, as a citizen of Tamil Nadu, who filed the petition in the Supreme Court demanding justice on the Cauvery waters at that time. Then, the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, made a request to the Government of Tamil Nadu to withdraw the case and that we would settle the matter and it was withdrawn with the consent of all the parties in Tamil Nadu. But, unfortunately, the matter could not be settled. That is why, by hindsight, with that experience, we warned that you should not get into a trap. So, agree, Madam,... *(Interruptions)* .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): *(Interruptions)* will not go on record.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I will tell you. More than me, a magazine of repute, the "FRONTLINE" has stated like this. This is about the meeting, why it took place. It says:

> The Chief Minister "has unwittingly served the personal and political interests of both Prime Minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, and Banga-rappa. By calling the February 17 meeting, the Prime Minister has met the demand of Karnataka Congress (I) MPs and MLAs to initiate steps to find a solution to the Cauvery problem before February 19.
>
> Otherwise, they had threatened to resign a development which would have unsteadied Narasimha Rao's fragile minority Government."

That was the purpose of the meeting. Naturally, Mr. Bangarappa, according to this magazine, is the moral victor. So, my point is this. I want this impression should go that we are sending a wrong signal to the Tribunal os if the Centre is not for the continuation of the Tribunal should go.

My question is: What happened to the interim award given by the Tribunal? Madam, if anything happens, this kind of Chief Ministers' meetings and other things, it is nothing but dissimulation, nothing but an effort to stab at the back of the people of Tamil Nadu, and this should be stopped. The Centre should spell out what it is going to do with regard to the Interim Award. That is what I expected from the President's Address. That is why I call it a platitude. They have merely repeated the constitutional position, the legal position. But this is not the way to solve an interstate river-water dispute.

Madam, in the good old days of freedom struggle we were hearing "Vande Mataram" and "Jai Hind" Now, instead of those we are hearing everywhere from the Congress benches, from the Treasury Benches, "liberalisation" and "globalisation." So, these two slogans or *mantras* have replaced "Vande Mataram" and "Jai Hind"

Madam, let us understand what liberalisation is. If "liberalisation" means dismantling of licence and permit *raj,* as described by the great leader, Rajaji, then, we are for it. If "liberalisation" means removal of controls and bureaucratic obstacles and doing of some of the Bhavans here in Delhi, we are all for it. But, in fact, you have delicensed almost 80 per cent of the industries. We welcome it. Nobody objects to it. Nobody objects *to* this kind of liberalisation because orginally, in the Constitution, you know, Madam, industries were in the State List. Except those for the purpose of defence, all the r'ndus-

tries were in the State, List inder Entry _4. But in a dubious way, it was subjected to Entry 52 of the Central List which said in the public intereKt they could bring in a legislation in the parliament and take away any industry they wanted from the State List. What the Governments did later was, they had taken away almost all the industries from the State List. Right from making blades or chappals or boots, every industry had been taken away. Many jurists like Mr. Palkhivala described it as a fraud perpetrated on the Constitution. The powers, originally, were given to the States. Now, because you have delicensed 80 per cent of the industries, at least you have partially restored the *status quo ante.* If liberalisation means that we should liberalise technology imports in key areas, we are for it. But what is happening is something different and shocking. First of all the New Economic Policy of the Industrial Policy is not your own, is not your choice, is not your making. It is being imposed on us by the IMF and the World Bank. Yesterday, Mr. Gurupadaswamy was saying that they were not imposing conditionalities, but they were giving commands, commandments. Why do we arrive at such a situation? Madam, everybody was accusing the Chandrashekhar Government and the National Front Government. But the truth is different. We have gone bankrupt because of the reckless policies, the profligacy, pursued in the 80s. I will give you only one example. On the eve of the 1989 elections, the Government had borrowed close *to* five billion dollars in the international market on a short-term basis. That was the main reason. That became due for repayment in the year 1990-91 and 92. There was no money *to* repay. We might have to default. Such a situation had arisen. So, with bended knees, we had to go to the IMF and the World Bank. And at what cost? Their conditionalities or command" roents erode the freedom Of the nation since all fiscal, monetary, trade, exchange and investment policies would henceforth have to be implemented according to their commandments.

Madam, I would just tell you wnat their commandments are. Their first commandment is, "Devalue your currency". That is their first commandment. We know who the gainer of this devaluation is. If one dollar could buy about 20 rupees before now a dollar can buy more than 26 rupees. That means each rupee would buy 30 per cent less of goods and services in the foreign market. *So,* the purchasing power of the dollar has come back Or increased. Inflation cancels the advantage of devaluation. The beneficiaries are the foreigners, not we, the Indians.

The second commandment is, "Control the fiscal deficit to a particular ratio of GDP; 6.5 per cent last year and five per cent this year." I do not know why the World Bank or the IMF should insist on fiscal deficit. During the last 40 years, usually, we have been using the yardstick of deficit-financing to measure our fiscal and budget-operations. We used to call the net credit extended to the Govrnment by theReserve Bank of India, as 'deficit-financing'. In popular terms it used to indicate how the Reserve Bank would be printing so many crores of currency notes. But suddenly it was changed. They say, "No, it was not good". But during the last 40 years, we have been following that yardstick. And we have appointed the high-power Sukhamoy Chakravarty Committee which has endorsed this practice. Now, the IMF says that the overall resource gap, that is the fiscal deficit, should be 6.5 per cent of the GDP this year and in the coming year, five percent of the GDP. Probably, it is an American practice. But it is a Trojan horse. How can we reduce the overall fiscal deficit of a Government? What is their objective? Why did they switch over from deficit financing to fiscal deficit? It is because they want to reduce the Government's role in overall investment. They want to control the Government's capacity to expend the money. How can we restore this particular ratio of fiscal deficit How can we reduce fiscal deficit? They have no other go. One of the ways is, to reduce the expenditure. The other way is to in-crase the taxes. Only by two ways, we can reduce the fiscal deficit; we can fill the gap. But what has happened? We have ' been saying that the restructuring is at

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the behest of the IMF and the World Bank. This commandment of the IMF and the World Bank will benefit only the top 10 to 15 per cent of the population and the poorest sections of the people will be the most affected. That is our contention and it has been proved right. You have reduced your expenditure. Where and how? The first casualty is the rural poor. During last year's Budlget—that is current year —the axe fell on rural development. Here is the newspaper report! It says, "Rural Water Schemes take a big knock. 500 crores of rupees have been cut affecting Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. Rural Drinking Water Supply and IRDF'. Now this year, where is the cut? This is a newspaper report! "Surprise over reduced share for education in this year's Budget." They have reduced the expenditure on education, especially, on elementary education and secondary education. What has happened during the current year? There was 7 per cent cut in the Plan spending. Capital expenditure has been cut by 8 per cent. This is because of structural adjustments,. *(Time Bell rings).* Madam, T have got a lot of time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You have taken forty mintues. You have another five minutes left. You started at 4.55 P.M.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, yon have to bear with me. In the name of interruptions, they have been speaking You know that. Madam, the other course is to increase the revenue by way of taxes. Can you increase the direct taxes? There is a limit for increasing it because it will affect the rich. Then comes Customs duty. Can we increase it? No. Here comes the philosophy of - globalisation. What does globalisation mean? Globalisation means three things. Number one' gradually abolish import control including consumer goods. Secondly you have to reduce the impart duty finally to forty or twenty per cent. You have to reduce the rate of import duty to help globalisation. Then privatise the private sector undertakings and leave market demand to determine the pattern of investment and output. The other thing is excise duty. That is what the Finance Minister has done in this Budget. He has increased the excise duty to the extent of Rs_ 2300 crores because he cannot increase the direct taxes. He has, by the commandments, reduced the Customs duty. The only other thing left is excise duty which is going to alfect local production. They are heavily taxing the Indian production and it is an indirect taxation. That means the tax on all the people of India and it takes away the protection given to indigenous production and help foreign competition. This is the situation At one pomt of time, we were talking about import substitution. Next we said, either we make or buy. In the 50s and 6G's, we have been saying, if anything is being imported, we should produce it within the country- New the slogan is changed. "If something can be imported, then w should not produce it". Today, we have entered into hundreds of collaboration agreements. We are happy about it We ace getting direct foreign investment. I would like to know as to how many of them are submfficted to autonomous import substitution? Hardly a handful. You have been opening the floodgates wherein the foreigners can come in and direct foreign investment can take place in India. Another interesting thing is— hon. Commerce Minister is also here — by a change in the Reserve Bank regulation the controversial export obligation imposed on companies under FERA has been done away with. Without coming to the Parliament, just by amending the regulation of Reserve Bank now you say, "We don't want any export obligations. They have been done away with." Probably in the old cases they may remain. It is what the Dunkel Draft Report also wants. There should not be any export obligations. Now by one stone they have killed two birds. Parliament does not know; we are not aware of it. What has happened? The multinational corporations probably will make a beeline to invest in India. Are they going to use India as a base to export to third countries? No; Madam, they want to exploit our market which is as big as Europe and they will take away their dividends You know it. Madam, and you

might have been in your parliamentary career that every year there will be two questions either in this House or in the other House. One is about the Income Tax arrears of film stars to satisfy our curiosity. Another is about the total wealth accumulation of the Tatas, Birlas and the other 25 top industrial houses be cause wo are so much anxious, concerned, about the wealth accumulation of the big industrial houses. If we are so much con cerned about our own industrial giants, how can we be so easy with these giant multinationals. Madam, with their stag gering financial resources the enormous marketing strength and the formidable R & D back-up, naturally they will invade India. *Au* my friend. Mr. Balanandan, has stated, this is nothing but deindustrialisation or Tecolon'alism. I am sorry even our flag, ships and star performers like BHEL, HMT and, perhaps. Larsen and Toubro may have to be closed down. The is how the closing down is poing to happen; that is why they bring in the Exit Policy which is an euphemism for retrenchment. It means the retrenchment will take place first in public sector undertakings and then it will he followed in the private sector also. Madam, it is an attack on the rights and economic gains that the working class has won over a period of time. Madam, T would like to know one thing from the hon. Minister—because he is one of the authors of the reforms—whether there is any guarantee that after some years after we get all the money we need from the World Bank and the IMF, will be we all right? Can we stand on our own legs? It is doubtful because the IMF in its Annual Report of 1989 says, "In the eighties not a single country could achieve the initial objectiv; of stabilisation." Not even a single country. They are quoting Banglar desh, Chile, Ghana, Mexico, Morocco. Philipines. Yocoslavia and Zambia It means these countries are drawn from five different continents representing different political regimes and stages of political development. Madam, you will remember when Pandit Nehru introduced the great Mahalonobis Model in the Second Five Year Plan in the classical tradition of establisbirr; first the capital goods industries, h? held discussions for four years, not one year or two years but for four years. Discussions were held amongst Congressmen, discussions were held amongst economists. Even our college students used to discuss whethe,- this model would be useful or not. But is there any useful discussion taking place now at least among Congressmen? I think, there has not been any discussion ...

AN HON. MEMBER: Even in the Cabinet, I think, there is not any discus* sion

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: It is doubtful whether the Cabinet is also discussing it or not because even the hon. Minister is giving out his information once a week. The reform is coming in drops, in driblets. So every week they are changing. We don't know where we are going. Are they knowing where they are going?...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You have exceeded your time. Please cosoluds.

SHRI .MURASOLI MARAN: Just a minute. We would like to have a meaningful discussion just as, Panditji had. in the past. How much are we going to draw and on what terms? What are the assumptions regarding the fiscal adjustments, import liberalisation and export growth over the coming years? Madam, this is not my own statement. You know Mr T.G. Patel. He was, like Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Reserve Bank Governor. He was heading—I don't know whether he is presently heading—the London School of Economics. He has written an article in which he said that there should be a discussion on how much we are going to draw from the IMF and the world Bank. What are the assumptions regarding fiscal adjustment, iraport liberalisation and export growthover next five years and ten years? What he is objecting to is the sequencing. There is no proper sequencing. There is no proper rnix. There is no selectivity You are opening the doors to multinationals without any care or consideration and without any calculations. Therefore, we are worried Presently the so-called Chambers of Commerce may be *ap*-nlauding this proposal. But they may not know even —cording to the World Bank Report which is called "Strategy for Trade

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Reform in India" the World Bank is quite clear that our capital and intermedi ate goods sector will be affected. They say explicitly that our capital and intermediate goods sector will be affected. That means our mechanical sector, our electrical sec tor our allied fields, our sub-sectors like machinery, metals, chemicals, etc. will be affected. The same people who are now saying. "Yes. globalisation is good; open up faster", will come and say within a 'year. "Stop it, stop it". That is going to happen. Therefore, I would like to ask a simple question: What will happen to cot tage industries, the tiny sector, our SSIs? Now, a new definition has been given, that is, rupees one crore of investment v ill be considered as small scale industries and 24 per cent equity will be allowed .for large domestic private companies and even foreign companies. The distinction between large and small' industries has gone. T do remember in 1965 Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was the Finance Minister At that time the World Bank and the IMF wanted him to devalue the rupee H_e refused. He resigned on December 31. 1965. He had the courage to say, "I will not devalue the rupee". At that time the Prime Minister produced a new Finance Minister from his khadi cap. That was Mr. Sachin Chowdhury because he was already a *chela* of the World Bank and he was already a *chela* of the IMF. And the rupee was devalued by 36.5 per cent in 1966. What happened? For the first time in the history of India in the 1967 elections the Congress had lost in the polls. It had lost its hold in Tamil Nadu it had lost its hold every-where, in the majority of the State's. The same fat_e is awaiting you. I warn you. We are taking a 180-degree turn. We are taking the clock back. So, I would say it is a betrayal of national sovereignty.

What is the market economy? As my friend has stated, just like Darwin's theory, it is the survival of the fittest. There is no social justice in the market economy. Mrs Margaret Thatcher said, "there is no such thing as society". It would not care about the weaker sections of society. Profit making is the only principle of market economy. Fifty-three per cent of our people are giving below the poverty line earning Rs. 5 per day per head. Two hundred mil-lion people are living on less than Rs. 2 per head per day. Their fate is sealed The poor will become paupers. The middle-class will become poor class and the poor class will become pauperised because of this structural adjustment.

Madam. I have got a shocking thing. You know that we have been talking that 25 conditions have been released etc. There is another more shocking thing. It has come in a news magazine. They say that there is a liaison person of the IMF working in New Delhi. It is news to us. What is his duty? What is he doing? The Union Government has agreed to a detail, ed procedure to monitor about 40 economic indicators on a quarterly basis and the Government is committed to report to' the IMF within six weeks of undertaking any expenditure. This has been exposed *bv* Professor Chossudovsky, Professor of Economics at the University of Canada. So. the Parliament is not supreme. The Cabinet is not taking decisions. We have to get approval of the IMF representative. Then what is the World Bank doing here? I want to quote what Mr. Chossudovsky has said:

> "As far as the World Bank is concerned, it has now entered into what it calls the public expenditure review, which consists in monitoring not only the fiscal deficit but the actual composition of Government expenditure, between minis-teries as well as within ministeries. This implies the establishment of conditions on patterns of expenditure: the World Bank will say 'you must spend more on this and less on that' and 'you must spend more on targeted programmes and less on general government programmes'."

Madam, is it not a national shame that somebody is monitoring our policies? The policies frarmed by our Cabinet and approved by the parliament are being monitored by the IMF and the World

Bank. They say. "you spend this much for this Ministry and you don't spend for this and that. And you don't spend for anti-poverty programmes."

Therefore, globalisation means dollarisation. We are chained to the charriot wheels of the multinational corporations. It will end up with de-industrialisation and neocolonialism'.

Finally, I would like to complete my speech with a letter written by Mr. S. N. Mishra, a former Union Minister to the hon. Prime Minister. He has written a letter which has appeared in the Indian Express of 28 February, 1992: I quote:

> "Mr. Prime Minister, you have adopted a prescription' without a diagnosist, selected physicians who do not know our constitution embarked on a road whose historic milestones have been abolishd and leads to nowhere, fallen a prey to the elite populism that blares the bugle for market forces, deregulation, decontrol, liberalisation and all the rest of it.
>
> We cannot turn a blind eye to these ominous developments. Please pause and think. Don't allow the situation to go out ofhand. Pull back from the brink. Redress the balance. Restore the Consensus."

This is the conscience of a congressman speaking.

You have been claiming in all election meetings that Congress got us freedom. Now the same freedom is being mortgaged, sold out to the multi-nationals. There-tore, I would like to repeat what a Congressman has saM pull back from the brink.

मौलाना असद मदनी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : जनाब सदर साहिबा, इस मुल्क की एकोनोमिक क्रायसिस बहुत ही अहम है और हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि इस पर कंट्रोल हासिल किया जाए और गरीबी जो कि गरीब लोगों को तबाह कर रही है, उस पर कंट्रोल हो और उसके हालात दुरुस्त हों तो यह बहुत खुशकिस्मती की बात होगी ।

हमारे मुल्क का दस्तूर सेकुलर है । उसमें मुख्तलिफ सियासी अगराज़ के लिए यात्राएं निकालकर और दूसरे तरीकों से आपस में भेद-भाव और नफरत बढ़ायी जा रही है । सियासी अगराज़ के लिए जिससे मुल्क की सालमियत को खतरा है, खुले बंदो सेकुलरिज्म का मजाक उड़ाया जाता है, मजम्मत की जाती है । गली-गली आग लगाने की साजिशें हो रही हैं और चार-पांच सूबों में हिस्ट्री को बदला जा रहा है । मुगलों को हमलावर बनाने का प्रोपेगंडा और आर्यों को द्रविड़ों की तरह असल बाशिंदे मसलमानों अकील्लियतों को तरह-तरह से नफरत और बदनामी की साजिश का शिकार किया जा रहा है । इन चीजों को कंट्रोल करने की जरूरत है । हिस्ट्री में कांग्रेस के लोगों ने जो हकीकतें बाजहे की हैं बाबरी मस्जिद के मामले में और दूसरे मामलात में उसके लिए मैं बहुत शुक्रगुजार हूं । उन्होंने मुल्क के ऊपर बड़ा एहसान किया है कि हकायक का इजहार किया है । गवर्नमेंट का फर्ज है कि रेडियो, टी० वी० और प्रेस वगैरह के जरिए से भी इस किस्म की आग लगाने वाले कम्युनल सूरते हाल को सही किया जाए और लोगों के दिमागों को दुरुस्त रखने की कोशिश की जाए ताकि इस मुल्क में मख्तलिफ किस्म के झूठे प्रोपेगंडा कर के लोगों के जहनों को खराब न किया जा सके और इंसानियत, शराफत, एक-दूसरे पर एतमाद और लोगों के आपस के ताल्लुकात दुरुस्त रहें और मुल्क तरक्की करे और मुल्क के रास्ते तरक्की में बाधा पड़कर खराबी न पैदा हो ।

हमारे मुल्क में करप्शन बहुत आम होता जा रहा है । तकर्रुर हो, तबादले हों, यहां तक कि सफाई कर्मचारियों से भी म्युनिसिपैल्टियों में उनके अफसरान पैसे मांगते हैं । और उनको काम पर जाने की जरूरत नहीं होती । मुल्क की सफाई आजादी से पहले से भी ज्यादा खराब होती जा रही है । तमाम कसबात में गंदगी फैल रही है, बीमारियां फैल रही

[श्री मौलाना असद मदनी]

हैं, मच्छर और तरह-तरह के जरासीम पैदा हो रहे हैं । इसी तरीके से किस्म-किस्म की खराबियां मुल्क में बढ़ती जा रही हैं ।

लॉ एण्ड आर्डर की हालत अच्छी नहीं है । फसादात होते हैं । कई सूबों में अभी हुए हैं । यू० पी० में कई जगह फसादात हुए, दूसरी जगह हुए । कत्ल किए जाते हैं, आग लगाई जाती हैं । अभी बम्बई में इलेक्शन हुआ था । उसके बाद ही से कई फसादात हुए । कुर्ला में तीसों छोटे छोटे कारखाने जलाए गए और करोड़ों रुपए का नुकसान हुआ पचास करोड़ रुपए का नुकसान हुआ । इसी तरीके से उमराखाड़ी में, वहां एक बेकरी पर शिव सेना के लोगों ने पत्थराव किया और हंगामे की कोशिश की । इसी तरीके से लूटमार होती है, डाके होते हैं, अगवा कर लिया जाता है जगह-जगह बच्चों को बड़ों को, कारोबारी लोगों को और फिर लाखों रुपए की फरमाईश और मांग होती है । पुलिस और प्राविंशियल फोर्सेज कम्युनल माइण्डेड हैं। उनके अफसरान उन पर कंट्रोल नहीं करते, हालात को दुरुस्त करने की कोशिश नहीं करते और उसके नतीजे में कत्ल होते हैं, लूट होती हैं, दिन दिहाड़े । जान-माल, इज्जत-आबरु इसकी हिफाजत की गारण्टी बिल्कुल खत्म होती चली जा रही हैं । कहीं, शहरों में, देहातों में अमन नहीं है लोगों को और उन्हीं मजलूमों को फसादात में, जिनको लूटा जाता है व मारा जाता है दिन-दहाड़े, उन्हीं को बड़ी तादाद में फोर्सेज के लोग गिरफ्तार करके लाते हैं, हाथ-पैर तोड़ते हैं बाहर भी, हवालात में भी, जेल में भी और यहां तक कि अगर वह पानी मांगते हैं प्यास से तो कहते हैं कि इनके मुंह में पेशाब करो । इसी तरीके की बातें उन मजलूमों के साथ की जाती हैं । जो हमलावर हैं, मारने वाले, लूटने वाले, कातिल, उसमें हिन्दू-मुसलमान या किसी कम्युनिटि का क्या सवाल है? वह तो एक अपराधी है । लेकिन, उनके नाम लेकर के किसी किस्म की एफ०आई०आर० पुलिस के लोग नहीं लेते और अगर कोई लेकर जाए तो उसको मारकर जेल में डाल देते हैं । इसी तरीके से अफसरान जो हैं अगर वह कोई फसाद को रोके या ठीक काम करे तो उसको धमकी दी जाती है, उसको जलील किया जाता है, फौरन तबादले हो जाते हैं और कभी-कभी तो उसको सख्त किस्म के हालात सभी गुजरना पडता है । इसके बरखिलाफ जो अफसरान फसादात करवाते हैं, लुटवाते हैं, कत्ल करवाते हैं, मुजरिमों को बचाते हैं, कातिलों को, जिनका सी० आई०डी० पता नहीं लगाती, दिन दहाडे जो घूमते हैं, उनके खिलाफ किसी किस्म का एक्शन नहीं लिया जाता । गोएआ कि अमन और कानून, इंसाफ, जानमाल इज्जत-आबरू की, शहरियों में फसादात की कोई जिम्मेदारी पुलिस अफसरान और सी०आई०डी० पर बिल्कुल नहीं, जिस तरह वह चाहें करें ।

अभी बनारस में फसाद हुआ और लोगों को कर्फ्यू के अन्दर घरों में, जो बिल्कुल फसादी किस्म के लोग नहीं बल्कि कारोबारी लखपति लोग, उनके घरों में घुस करके उनके हाथ-पांव तोड़े गए, मारा गया । साठ-साठ साल के, अस्सी-अस्सी साल के बुढ़ों के हाथ-पांव तोड़े गए, उनको मारा या । इसी तरीके से किशनपुर बराल में एक लड़के का वाकया था । जो लोग उसे अगवा करने वाले थे, वह गिरफ्तार हो गए । उसकी लाश मिली । उसके बाद कुछ हुजम हुआ कि पुलिस का घेराव करेंगे कि वह काम ठीक नहीं करती है, यहां तक तो कोई हर्ज नहीं, उनमें से किसी आदमी ने कहा कि इस मदरसे में, ख्वामख्वाह के लिए, मदरसा, मस्जिद तमाम लूट लिया गया, जला दिया गया । एक आदमी वहां बैठा हुआ था, शायद नमाज के इंतजार में होगा या किसी काम से । उसको कहा कि इसे पकडो । पुलिस साथ । उसके बावजूद पुलिस ने इशारा किया । वह गरीब अपनी जान बचाने के लिए हुजूम से भागा । कहा कि पकड़ो । उसके कहने से लोग दौड़े । उसको मार डाला, कत्ल कर डाला । कत्ल की कोई गिरफ्तारी नहीं होती, किसी किस्म की कोई चीज नहीं होती ।

जलालपुर में इसी तरीके मे एक दीवार का झगडा था मामूली, जिसको बैठकर कुछ लोगों को कागजात देखकर के तय करना चाहिए था । लेकिन, उसमें स्कूल के, कालेज के लड़के आए । उन्होंने दखल दिया और दुकानों को लूटना शुरू कर दिया, घर लूटना, जलाना शुरू कर दिए । एक नौजवान को पकड़कर के एक घर में ले गए और पुलिस वालों ने डंडे मार मार कर से जान से मार डाला। अब उसकी एफ०आई०आर० फैजाबाद में जाकर के उसके मां-बाप ने कराई ।

इसी तरीके से जगह-जगह फसादात हो रहे हैं । इधर जयपुर में टाडा के अंदर गिरफ्तारियां हुई हैं । दो साल पहले सन् 1989 में वहां फसाद हुआ था । उसमें 119 मुसलमान और 96 सिख गिरफ्तार हुए थे फसाद के अंदर । उन पर टाडा लगा दिया गया । . . .

हालांकि होम मिनस्टर साहब ने यह बयान दिया था कि सिर्फ दहशतगर्दों के वास्ते ही यह "टाडा" हो रहा है लेकिन उसे फसादात में लगा दिया राजस्थान गवर्नमेंट ने और उन लोगों को, उनमें होम मिनिस्टर हैं राजस्थान के दिग्विजय सिंह, उन्होंने असेम्बली में कहा था कि 178 आदमी ऐसे हैं कि जिनके पास गिरफ्तारी के वक्त कोई असलेहा, आतिशी या आतशगीर माद्दा कोई चीज नहीं थी लेकिन इसके बावजूद रिहाई नहीं हो रही है और उन पर अजमेर जेल में मजालिम ढाए जा रहे थे, इसी तरीके से मुरादाबाद के जो लोग गिरफ्तार हुए थे, मजलूम, वही लूटे जाते हैं, वही जलाए जाते हैं, वही गिरफ्तार होते हैं, उन पर मुकदमात् 10-10 बरस तक चलते रहते हैं, तारीख पर हाजिर हो रही है, परेशान, हो रही है है कि यही लुटे थे, यही पिटे थे, जैसे जयपुर के लोग हैं इनमें से बहुत से लोग ,अक्सीरियत 14-14 के नाबालिक लड़के, 80-80 साल के बूढ़े, वह भी उसी 'टाडा" में गिरफ्तार हैं । इसी तरह से यू०पी० के लोग भी मुरादाबाद के, उन पर आज भी मुकदमा उसी तरह से कायम हैं और अदालतों में दौड़ाया जा रहा है और केस खत्म नहीं होते ।

भोपाल के अंदर मध्य प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट मस्जिदों के हिस्सों को, दरवाजों को, गुसलखानों को, बुजूखानों को जगह-जगह चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब के कस्बे में ही तोड़ रही है । इसी तरह यहां दिल्ली में "सरिता विहार" में "मदनपुर खादर" गांव में 186 साल पुरानी मस्जिद डी० डी०ए० ने मुनहदिम कर दी अदालत के हुक्म के खिलाफ इस तरह की चीजें बराबर पाई जाती हैं, हो रही हैं ।

सदर साहिबा, इस्राइल से हमारी सरकार ने ताल्लुकत कायम किए हैं । ये ताल्लुकात का बढ़ाना, सिफारती ताल्लुक कायम करना, बढ़ाना, गांधी जी के, नेहरू जी के, और जम्हूरियत के, गैर-जानिबदारान की तहरीक के, सबके खिलाफ कदम है और इसी सन् 1986 में लंका की हुकूमत ने इस्राइली हुकूमत की इंटेलिजेंस एजेंसी "मोस्साद" से कनेक्शन जोड़ा था और हमने, हुकूमत-ए-हिन्द ने एतराज किया था और मद्रास एयरपोर्ट के धमाके में "मोस्साद" का हाथ था और बदकिस्मती से आज हमारी हुकूमत इसी "मोस्साद" और "शनबेग" से कनेक्शन जोड़ रही है। खतरा है कि इस्राइली एजेंसियां हिन्दू मुस्लिम रायट्स को बढ़ाएगी, जो स्पन्न में गुजर चुका हैं । इस्राइल वेनुल अक्वामी साजिस से अरब मुल्क की सरजमीन में सन् 1948 में कायम किया गया अक्वामो मुतहदा की साजिश से और इस्राइल बनने के बाद बीसियों लाखों अरबों को जबर्दस्ती मारकर, कत्ल करके, लूटकर, उनको पनाह-गुजीन बना दिया गया, निकाल दिया गया और दुनिया भर के दूसरे मुल्कों से यहूदियों को लाकर—कोई रूसी, कोई जर्मनी, कोई फ्रांसिसी, कोई इंग्लैंड का, कोई अमरीका का—उनको जबर्दस्ती अरबों की जमीन पर काबिज बना दिया गया, बसा दिया गया । इसी तरीके से "बेतुल मुकद्दस" पर इस्राइल ने फौजकशी करके कब्जा किया, "गोलान" और दूसरे इलाकों पर नाजायज कब्जे किए । इस्राइल ने "मदीन-ए-मुनवरा" और दूसरे मुल्कों और इलाकों पर कब्जे की साजिशें बना रखी हैं और बराबर

[श्री मौलाना असद मदनी]

उसमें लगा हुआ है । इस्राइल फिलिसतीनियों के किसी नाजायज सियासी हुकूक को मानने के लिए कभी तैयार नहीं हुआ । इस्राइल ने अपने खिलाफ आज तक इक्वाम-ए-मुत्तहदा की किसी तजवीज को नहीं माना । इस्राइल ने ईराक की न्यूकलीआई तनसीब पर दहशतगर्दी करके बमबारी की । इस्राइल ने ट्यूनिश में दहशतगर्द भेजकर फिलीस्तीनी ठिकानों पर हमले कराए । इस्राइल ने लीबिया के प्लेन को निशाना बनाया । इस्राइल ने लेबनान में बरसों से बराबर दहशतगर्द भेजे और तरह-तरह के एक्दामात, बमबारी और कत्लेआम करता रहता है । इस्राइल ने अभी लेबनान शिया आलिम को दहशतगर्दों के जरिए से कत्ल किया घुसकर के और हमको 22 अरब मुल्कों और 52 मुस्लिम मुल्कों की रियायत ज्यादा करनी चाहिए । अरब मुल्कों में 10 लाख हिन्दुस्तानी बहुत अच्छी तनख्वाहों पर काम कर रहे हैं । इससे भी ज्यादा अरब मुल्कों से हमारा अरबों रुपए का सालाना तिजारती लेन-देन है । अरब और मुस्लिम मुल्कों की अक्सरियत, गैर जानिबदार तहरीक और अक्वामी मुत्तहदा और हिन्दुस्तान के साथ और हिन्दुस्तान की लीडरशिप पर एतमाद करता रहा है । इन हालात में हमको उनको नजरअंदाज करके इस्राइल को तसलीम करना और ताल्लुक बढ़ाना और साजिशों में शरीक होना, हिन्दुस्तानियों के लिए बदतरीन नताइज बरामद करेगा और यह किसी प्रकार मुनासिब नहीं है ।

कश्मीर के बारे में हमारे सदर साहिब के एड्रेस में जो पेशकश की गई है वह बहुत माकूल और खुशआइन्द है । खुदा करे मजीद वहां जम्हूरियत की सूरतेहाल पैदा हो और वहां की जो और कुछ शिकायतें हैं उनको भी दूर किया जाए और बेहतर सूरत बात-चीत की निकले ।

जामिया मिलिया की तारीख है ।

6.00 P.M.

जामिया मिलिया, हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजों का जब दबाव था और मुसलमानों को जब अंग्रेजों के साथ लिया जा रहा था आजादी के खिलाफ और यहां के इदारे उस तरफ जा रहे थे, तब आजादी वालों ने मौलाना आजाद ने (समय की घंटी)—एक मिनट बस, अभी खत्म कर रहा हूं ।

मौलाना आजाद ने, मौलाना मोहमद अली जौहर ने, शेखुलहिंद मौलाना महमूदुल हसन साहब रहमतुल्लाअले असीरे मालटा इन सब लोगों ने मिलकर के इदारों के मुकाबले में आज इदारा मुसलमानों ने बनाया था—तालीमी । उसका नाम जामिया मिलिया इसलामिया है । अब अगर वह आज गवर्नमेंट के कब्जे में चला गया है तो उस ी उस तारीख को, पोजीशन को, उस सूरतेहाल को पूरी तरह अमानतदारी से मजफूज रखना चाहिए । क्या कोई हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमान नहीं मिला था दस-बारह करोड़ मुसलमानों में से, जो उसका वाईस चांसलर बनता । उस पर मुसल्लत किया गया है अलीगढ़ की तरह उसको बरबाद करने को, उससे भी ज्यादा साजिश की जा रही है । हुकूमत ने बहुत बदतरीन इकदाम उठाया है । सख्त तरीन प्रोटेसट हम इस पर करते हैं और किसी तरह मुसलमान बहुत नाराज हैं इस बात पर कि एक मुसलमान वाईस चांसलर नहीं बनाया गया और उसकी तमाम रिवायत को खत्म किया जा रहा है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): How much longer will you take?

श्री मौलाना असद मदनी : बस, एक मिनट । डा० गोपाल सिंह साहब ने होम मिनिस्ट्री के कहने से अकलियतों और मुसलमानों के बारे में एक रिपोर्ट बनायी थी । उसमें बहुत सी हकायक हैं, सिफारिशात हैं । गवर्नमेंट को उसको कबूल करना चाहिये और उनको नाफिज करना चाहिये और हमारे इलम में भी उसको लाना चाहिये । वौकाफ़ का बिल हमारे इलम में लाना चाहिये औकाफ का बिल लटकता चला जा रहा है, वर्षों हो गये हैं । करोड़ों रुपये की प्रोपर्टी बरबाद हो गयी है । दिल्ली तक में रेंट कंट्रोल एक्ट से औकाफ़ मुस्तसना नहीं । जिन दुकानों के बराबर की दुकानें पांच-पांच हजार, दस-दस हजार रुपये महीने किराये पर हैं उन दुकानों को 50–50 रुपये 10–10 रुपये पर, दो-दो रुपये पर कोई है सियत नहीं होती, माहवार किराये पर जबर्दस्ती रखा जा रहा है । बिहार, बंगाल, कटिहार और दूसरी जगहों में सिरकापरस्त लोग बंगला देशी कहकर हमेशा हंगामा खड़ा करते हैं, लोगों का अमन खराब करते हैं। जो मुर्शिदाबाद, मालदा—यह बंगला देश के जो लोग हैं, वहां के रहने वाले और इधर आकर के जमीन खरीद करके खेती करते हैं, तो उनको गैर-मुल्की कहा जाता है—(समय की घंटी)– बस, मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You conclude tomorrow then. You can continue tomorrow.

श्री मौलाना असद मदनी : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं । यह बहुत सिलसिला चला आता है ।

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA; He wants to conclude now itself.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: SHRI MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): But he is not concluding.

श्री मौलाना असद मदनी : अब मैं तो बात खत्म कर रहा हूं । आसाम में भी जो ए०जी०पी० की सरकार बनी, चन्द सौ गैर-मुल्की नहीं निकाले जा सके । जहां एक-एक जिले में लाखों कहे जाते थे और उन्हीं की सरकार थी—मरकज में भी और सूबों में भी । इसी तरह से बिहार में बहुत फसादात कराना, कम्युनल राईट कराना, हालात को खराब करना, किसी गैर-मुल्की के हक में नहीं । मगर हिंदुस्तानियों को सिर्फ इसलिये कि वह मुसलमान है या फलां हैं या बंगाली हैं, उनको गैर-मुल्की कहकर के सताया जाये, करप्शन किया जाये, रिश्वतें ली जायें, चलना-फिरना मुश्किल हो और उनकी जिंदगी कानून, अमन सब खराब किया जाये, यह हरगिज नहीं होना चाहिये । इस तरह के लोगों की हिम्मत शिकनी हुकूमत करे, निगरानी करे। हुकूमत का फर्ज है कि वह देखे शिकायत करो, लेकिन इस तरह से परेशान करना, जुलूस नारे, घेराव, यह सब चीजें बंद होनी चाहिये और कानून, इंसाफ और अमन का बोलबाला होना चाहिये । जुल्म, सितम, नाइंसाफी यह इंतहाई खराब चीजें हैं । इनको खत्म करना हुकूमत का फर्ज है । इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं शुक्रिया की इस तजवीज की ताईद करता हूं ।

بابری مسجد کے معاملے میں اور دوسرے معاملات میں میں اس کے لئے شکر گزار ہوں ۔ انھوں نے ملک کے اوپر بڑا احسان کیا ہے کہ حقائق کا اظہار کیا ہے۔ کہ حقائق کا اظہار کیا ہے ۔ گورنمنٹ کا فرض ہے کہ ریڈیو ۔ ٹی ۔ وی ۔ اور پریس وغیرہ کے ذریعہ سے بھی اس قسم کی آگ لگانے والے کمیونل صورت حال کو صحیح کیا جائے اور لوگوں کے دماغوں کو درست رکھنے کی کوشش کی جائے تاکہ اس ملک میں مختلف قسم کے جھوٹے پروپیگنڈے کر کے لوگوں کے ذہنوں کو خراب نہ کیا جا سکے ۔ اور انسانیت، شرافت ، ایک دوسرے پر اعتماد اور لوگوں کے آپس میں تعلقات درست رہیں ۔ اور ملک ترقی کرے اور ملک کی ترقی کے راستہ میں بادھا پڑ کر خرابی نہ پیدا ہو ۔

ہمارے ملک میں کرپشن بہت عام ہوتا جا رہا ہے ۔ تقرر ہو ۔ تبادلے ہوں ۔ یہاں تک کہ صفائی کرمچاریوں سے بھی میونسپلٹیوں میں اُن کے افسران پیسے مانگتے ہیں ۔ اور اُن کو کام پر جانے کی ضرورت نہیں ہوتی ۔ ملک کی صفائی آزادی سے پہلے سے بھی زیادہ خراب

مولانا اسعد مدنی "اتر پردیش"†

جناب صدر صاحب ۔ اس ملک کی اکونامک کرائسس بہت ہی اہم ہے ۔ اور ہم امید کرتے ہیں کہ اس پر کنٹرول حاصل کیا جا سکے گا اور گرانی جو کہ غریب لوگوں کو تباہ کر رہی ہے ۔ اس پر کنٹرول ہو اور اس کے حالات درست ہوں تو یہ بہت خوش قسمتی کی بات ہوگی ۔

ہمارے ملک کا دستور سیکولر ہے ۔ اس میں مختلف سیاسی اغراض کے لئے یا ترائیں نکال کر اور دوسرے طریقوں سے آپس میں بھید بھاؤ اور نفرت بڑھائی جا رہی ہے ۔ سیاسی اغراض کے لئے جس سے ملک کی سالمیت کو خطرہ ہے کھلے ہندو سیکولرازم کا مذاق اڑایا جاتا ہے ۔ مذمت کی جاتی ہے ۔ گلی گلی آگ لگانے کی سازشیں ہو رہی ہیں ۔ اور بار بار پانچ صوبوں میں ہسٹری کو رس بدلا جا رہا ہے ۔ مغلوں کو حملہ آور بنانے کا پروپیگنڈہ اور آریوں کو دراوڑوں کی طرح اصل باشندے مسلمانوں اور اقلیتوں کو طرح طرح سے نفرت اور بدنامی کی سازش کا شکار کیا جا رہا ہے ۔ ان چیزوں کو کنٹرول کرنے کی ضرورت ہے ۔ ہسٹری میں کانگریس کے لوگوں نے جو حقیقتیں واضح کی ہیں ۔

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

کرنے کی کوشش نہیں کرتے اور اُس کے نتیجہ میں قتل ہوتے ہیں۔ لوٹ ہوتی ہے۔ دن دہاڑے۔ جان۔ مال۔ عزّت۔ آبرو۔ کی حفاظت کی گارنٹی بالکل ختم ہوتی جارہی ہے کہیں شہروں میں۔ دیہاتوں میں امن نہیں ہے۔ لوگوں کو اور انہیں مظلوموں کو جن کو لوٹا جاتا ہے اور مارا جاتا ہے۔ دن دھاڑے۔ انہیں کو بڑی تعداد میں فورسیز کے لوگ گرفتار کر کے لے جاتے ہیں۔ ہاتھ پیر توڑتے ہیں۔ باہر بھی۔ حوالات میں بھی۔ جیل میں اور یہاں تک کہ اگر وہ پانی مانگتے ہیں۔ پیاس سے تو کہتے ہیں کہ اُن کے مُنھ میں پیشاب کرو۔ اسی طریقہ سے باتیں ان مظلوموں کے ساتھ کی جاتی ہیں۔ جو حملہ آور ہیں۔ مارنے والے لوٹنے والے۔ قاتل اس میں ہندو مسلمان یا کسی کمیونٹی کا سوال کیا ہے۔ وہ تو ایک اپرادھی ہے۔ لیکن اُن کے نام کے ساتھ کسی قسم کی ایف۔ آئی۔ آر۔ پولیس کے لوگ نہیں لیتے ہیں۔ اور اگر کوئی لے کر جائے تو اس کو بھی مار کر جیل میں ڈال دیتے ہیں۔ اسی طریقے سے افسران جو ہیں اگر وہ کوئی فساد کو روکے یا ٹھیک کام کرے تو اس کو دھمکی دی جاتی ہے۔ اس کو ذلیل کیا جاتا ہے۔ فوراً تبادلہ ہوتی جارہی ہے۔ تمام قصبات میں گندگی پھیل رہی ہے۔ بیماریاں پھیل رہی ہیں۔ مچھر اور طرح طرح کے جراثیم پیدا ہو رہے ہیں۔ اسی طریقے سے قسم قسم کی خرابیاں ملک میں بڑھتی جارہی ہیں۔

لا اینڈ آرڈر کی حالت اچھی نہیں ہے۔ فسادات ہوتے ہیں کئی صوبوں میں ابھی ہوئے ہیں۔ یو۔ پی۔ میں کئی جگہ فسادات ہوئے دوسرے جگہ ہوئے۔ قتل کئے جاتے ہیں۔ آگ لگائی جاتی ہے۔ ابھی بمبئی میں الیکشن ہوا تھا۔ اس کے بعد ہی سے کئی فسادات ہوئے۔ کرُلا میں تیسیوں چھوٹے چھوٹے کارخانے جلائے گئے۔ اور کروڑوں روپے کا نقصان ہوا۔ پچاسوں کروڑ روپے کا نقصان ہوا۔ اسی طریقے سے عمر کھاڑی میں۔ وہاں پہلوی بیکری پر شیو سینا کے لوگوں نے پتھراؤ کیا اور ہنگامے کی کوشش کی۔ اسی طریقے سے لوٹ مار ہوتی ہے۔ سڑا کے ڈالے جاتے ہیں۔ اغوا کر لیا جاتا ہے۔ جگہ جگہ بچّوں کو۔ بڑوں کو۔ کاروباری لوگوں کو اور پھر لاکھوں روپے کی فرمائش اور مانگ ہوتی ہے۔ پولیس اور پروفیشنل فورسیز کمیونل مائنڈڈ ہیں۔ اُن کے افسران اُن پر کنٹرول نہیں کرتے۔ حالات درست

حرج نہیں۔ اُن میں سے کسی آدمی نے کہا کہ اس مدرسہ میں اس لڑکے کو رکھا تھا خواہ مخواہ کے لئے مدرسہ اور مسجد کا نام لیا گیا اور ان کو لوٹا گیا۔ جلا دیا گیا۔ ایک آدمی وہاں بیٹھا ہوا تھا۔ شاید نماز کے انتظار میں ہو گا یا اور کسی کام سے۔ اس کو کہا کہ اُسے پکڑو۔ پولیس ساتھ تھی۔ اس کے باوجود پولیس نے اشارہ کیا۔ وہ غریب اپنی جان بچانے کے لئے ہجوم سے بھاگا۔ کہا کہ پکڑو۔ اس کے کہنے سے لوگ دوڑے۔ اور اس کو مار ڈالا۔ قتل کر ڈالا۔ قتل کے سلسلے میں کوئی گرفتاری نہیں ہوئی۔ کسی قسم کا کوئی ایکشن نہیں ہوا۔

جلالپور میں اسی طریقے سے ایک دیوار کا جھگڑا تھا۔ معمولی۔ جس کو بیٹھ کر کچھ لوگوں کو کاغذات دیکھ کر طے کرنا چاہئے تھا۔ لیکن اس میں اسکول کے۔ کالج کے لڑکے آئے۔ انھوں نے دخل دیا۔ اور دکانوں کو لوٹنا شروع کر دیا۔ گھر لوٹنا، جلانا شروع کر دیا۔ ایک نوجوان کو پکڑ کر کے ایک گھر میں سے لے گئے۔ اور پولیس والوں نے ڈنڈے سے مار مار کر جان سے مار ڈالا۔ اب اُس کی ایف۔ آئی۔ آر۔ فیض آباد میں جا کر کے اُس کے ماں باپ نے کرائی۔

ہو جاتا ہے۔ اور کبھی کبھی تو اس کو سخت قسم کے حالات سے بھی گزرنا پڑتا ہے۔ اس کے برخلاف جو افسران فساد کرواتے ہیں۔ لٹواتے ہیں۔ قتل کرواتے ہیں۔ مجرموں کو بچاتے ہیں۔ قاتلوں کا سی۔ آئی۔ ڈی۔ پتا نہیں لگاتی۔ دن دھاڑے قتل ہوتے ہیں اُن کے خلاف کسی قسم کا ایکشن نہیں لیا جاتا۔ گویا کہ امن اور قانون انصاف۔ جان مال۔ عزت آبرو کی شہر میں فسادات کی کوئی ذمہ داری پولیس افسران اور سی۔ آئی۔ ڈی۔ پر عائد نہیں جس طرح وہ چاہیں کریں۔

ابھی بنارس میں فساد ہوا اور لوگوں کو کرفیو کے اندر گھروں میں جو بالکل فسادی قسم کے لوگ نہیں بلکہ کاروباری لکھپتی لوگ ہیں۔ اُن کے گھروں میں گھس کر اُن کے ہاتھ پاؤں توڑے گئے۔ مارا گیا۔ ساٹھ ساٹھ سال کے۔ اسی اسی سال کے بوڑھوں کے ہاتھ پاؤں توڑے گئے۔ اُن کو مارا گیا۔ اسی طریقے سے کشن پور برال ضلع میرٹھ میں ایک لڑکے کا واقعہ تھا۔ جو لوگ اغوا کرنے والے تھے وہ گرفتار ہو گئے۔ اس کی لاش ملی۔ اس کے بعد کچھ ہجوم اکٹھا ہوا کہ پولیس کا گھیراؤ کریں کے کہ وہ کام ٹھیک نہیں کرتی ہے۔ یہاں تک تو کوئی

بہت سے لوگ چودہ چودہ سال کے نابالغ لڑکے ۔ ۸۰ ۔ ۸۰ سال کے بوڑھے۔ وہ بھی اسی "ٹاڈا" میں گرفتار ہیں ۔ اسی طرح سے یو۔ پی کے لوگ بھی مرادآباد کے ۔ اُن پر آج بھی مقدمات اسی طرح سے قائم ہیں اور عدالتوں میں دوڑایا جارہا ہے اور کیس ختم نہیں ہوتے ۔

بھوپال کے اندر مدھیہ پردیش کی گورنمنٹ مسجدوں کے حصّوں کو۔ دروازوں کو غسل خانوں کو۔ وضو خانوں کو چیف منسٹر صاحب کے قصبہ میں ہی توڑ رہی ہے۔ اسی طرح سے یہاں دِلّی میں "سریتا وہار" میں "مدن پور قادر گاؤں" میں ۱۸۶ سال پرانی مسجد ڈی ۔ ڈی ۔ اے نے منہدم کردی ۔ عدالت کے حکم کے خلاف اسی طرح کی چیزیں برابر پائی جاتی ہیں۔ ہو رہی ہیں ۔

صدر صاحبہ ۔ اسرائیل سے ہماری سرکار نے تعلقات قائم کئے ہیں ۔ یہ تعلقات کا بڑھانا ۔ سفارتی تعلقات قائم کرنا ۔ بڑھانا ۔ گاندھی جی کے ۔ نہرو جی کے اور جمہوریت کے غیر جانبدارانہ تحریک کے سب کے خلاف قدم ہے ۔ ۱۹۸۶ء میں لنکا کی حکومت نے اسرائیلی انٹیلی جینس ایجنسی "موساد" سے کنیکشن

اسی طریقے سے جگہ جگہ فسادات ہورہے ہیں ۔ ادھر جے پور میں ٹاڈا کے اندر گرفتاریاں ہوئی ہیں ۔ دو سال پہلے ۱۹۸۹ء میں وہاں فساد ہوا تھا ۔ اس میں ۱۱۹ مسلمان اور ۹۶ سکھ گرفتار ہوئے تھے ۔ فساد کے اندر اُن پر ٹاڈا لگادیا گیا ۔ حالانکہ ہوم منسٹر صاحب نے جو بیان دیا تھا کہ صرف دہشت گردوں کے واسطے ہی یہ ٹاڈا ہورہا ہے ۔ لیکن اسے فسادات میں لگادیا گیا ۔ راجستھان گورنمنٹ نے ان لوگوں کو ۔ ان میں ہوم منسٹر راجستھان دِگ وِجے سنگھ ۔ انھوں نے اسمبلی میں کہا تھا کہ ۱۷۸ آدمی ایسے ہیں کہ جن کے پاس گرفتاری کے وقت کوئی اسلحہ ۔ آتشی یا آتشگیر مادہ کوئی چیز نہیں تھی ۔ لیکن اس کے باوجود رہائی نہیں ہورہی ہے ۔ اور اُن پر اجمیر جیل میں مظالم ڈھائے جارہے ہیں ۔ تھے ۔ اسی طریقے سے مرادآباد کے جو لوگ گرفتار ہوئے تھے ۔ مظلوم وہی لوٹے جاتے ہیں ۔ وہی جلائے جاتے ہیں وہی گرفتار ہوتے ہیں ۔ اُن پر مقدمات دس دس برس تک چلتے ہیں ہیں تاریخوں پر حاضری ہورہی ہے ۔ پریشانی ہورہی ہے جانتے ہیں کہ یہی لٹے تھے ۔ یہی پٹے تھے ۔ جیسے جے پور کے لوگ ہیں ان میں سے

سیاسی حقوق کو ماننے کے لئے کبھی تیار نہیں ہوا۔ اسرائیل نے اپنے خلاف آج تک اقوام متحدہ کی کسی تجویز کو نہیں مانا۔ اسرائیل نے عراق کی نیوکلیائی تنصیب پر دھشت گردی کر کے بمباری کی۔ . . اسرائیل نے تیونس میں دھشت گرد بھیج کر فلسطینی ٹھکانوں پر حملے کرائے۔ اسرائیل نے لیبیا کے پلین کو نشانہ بنایا۔ اسرائیل برسوں سے برابر دھشت گرد لبنان بھیجے اور طرح طرح کے اقدامات۔ بمباری اور قتل عام کرتا رہتا ہے۔ اسرائیل نے ابھی لبنان کے شیعہ عالم کو دھشت گردوں کے ذریعے قتل کیا۔

۲۲ عرب ملکوں اور ۵۲ مسلم ملکوں کی کی رعایت زیادہ کرنی چاہئے۔ عرب ملکوں میں ۱۰ لاکھ سے زیادہ ہندوستانی بہت اچھی تنخواہوں پر کام کر رہے ہیں۔ اس سے بھی زیادہ عرب ملکوں سے ہمارا اربوں روپے کا سالانہ تجارتی لین دین ہے۔ عرب اور مسلم ملکوں کی اکثریت غیر جانبدار تحریک اور اقوام متحدہ اور ہندوستان کے ساتھ اور ہندوستانی لیڈرشپ پر اعتماد رہا ہے۔ ان حالات میں ہم کو اُن کو نظر انداز کر کے اسرائیل کو تسلیم کرنا اور تعلق بڑھانا اور سازشوں میں شریک جوڑا تھا۔ تو ہم نے۔ حکومت ہند نے اعتراض کیا تھا۔ اور مدراس ائیرپورٹ کے دھماکے میں "موساد" کا ہاتھ تھا۔ اور بدقسمتی سے آج ہماری حکومت بھی اسی "موساد" اور "شن بیگ" سے کنیکشن جوڑ رہی ہے۔ خطرہ ہے کہ اسرائیلی ایجنسیاں ہندو مسلم رائٹس کو بڑھائیں گی۔ جو اس پین میں گزر چکا ہے۔ اسرائیل بین الاقوامی سازش سے عرب ملک کی عرب سرزمین میں ۱۹۴۸ء میں قائم کیا گیا۔ اقوام متحدہ کی سازش سے اور اسرائیلی بننے کے بعد بیسیوں لاکھ عربوں کو مار کر۔ قتل کر کے۔ لوٹ کر۔ اُن کو پناہ گزیں بنا دیا گیا۔ نکال دیا گیا۔ اور دنیا بھر کے دوسرے ملکوں سے یہودیوں کو لا کر۔ کوئی روسی۔ کوئی جرمنی۔ کوئی فرانسیسی۔ کوئی انگلینڈ کا۔ کوئی امریکہ کا۔ اُن کو زبردستی عربوں کی زمین پر قابض بنا دیا گیا۔ بسا دیا گیا۔ اسی طریقے سے "بیت المقدس" پر اسرائیل نے فوج کشی کر کے قبضہ کیا۔ "گولان" اور دوسرے علاقوں پر ناجائز قبضے کئے۔ اسرائیل نے "مدینہ منورہ" اور دوسرے ملکوں اور علاقوں پر قبضے کی سازشیں بنا رکھی ہیں۔ اور برابر اس میں لگا ہوا۔ اسرائیل فلسطینیوں کے لئے کسی انسانی

گیا ہے تو اس کی تاریخ کو۔ پوزیشن کو۔ اس صورت حال کو پوری طرح دیانتداری سے محفوظ رکھنا چاہیئے۔ کیا کوئی ہندوستان میں مسلمان نہیں ملا تھا دس بارہ کروڑ مسلمانوں میں سے۔ جو اس کا وائس چانسلر بنتا۔ اس پر مسلط کیا گیا ہے۔ علی گڑھ کی طرح اس کو برباد کرنے کی۔ اس سے بھی زیادہ سازش کی جارہی ہے۔ حکومت نے بہت بدترین قدم اٹھایا ہے سخت ترین پروٹسٹ ہم اس پر کرتے ہیں۔ اور سب مسلمان بہت ناراض ہیں۔ اس بات پر کہ ایک مسلمان وائس چانسلر نہیں بنایا گیا اور اس کی تمام روایات کو ختم کیا جارہا ہے۔

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): How much longer will you take?

مولانا اسعد مدنی :۔ بس ایک منٹ۔ ڈاکٹر گوپال سنگھ صاحب نے ہوم منسٹری کے کہنے سے اقلیتوں اور مسلمانوں کے بارے میں ایک رپورٹ بنائی تھی۔ اس میں بہت سے حقائق ہیں سفارشات ہیں۔ گورنمنٹ کو اُس کو قبول کرنا چاہیئے۔ اور اس کو نافذ کرنا چاہیئے۔ اور ہمارے علم بھی اس کو لانا چاہیئے۔ اوقاف کا بل ہمارے ہاؤس میں لانا چاہیئے۔ اوقاف ہونا۔ ہندوستانیوں کے لئے بدترین نتائج برآمد کرے گا اور یہ کسی پر کار مناسب نہیں ہے۔

کشمیر کے بارے میں ہمارے صدر صاحب کے ایڈریس میں جو پیش کش کی گئی ہے وہ بہت معقول اور خوش آئند ہے۔ خدا کرے مزید وہاں جمہوریت کی صورت حال پیدا ہو۔ اور وہاں کی جو کچھ شکایتیں ہیں اُن کو بھی دور کیا جائے اور بہتر صورت بات چیت کی نکلے۔

جامعہ ملیہ اسلامیہ کی تاریخ ہے۔ جامعہ ملیہ ہندوستان میں جب انگریزوں کا دباؤ تھا۔ اور مسلمانوں کو جب انگریزوں کے ساتھ لیا جارہا تھا آزادی کے خلاف اور یہاں کے ادارے اس طرف جارہے تھے۔ تب آزادی والوں نے مولانا آزاد نے ..... "وقت کی گھنٹی"۔۔ ایک منٹ بس ابھی ختم کر رہا ہوں۔

مولانا آزاد نے۔ مولانا محمد علی جوہر نے۔ شیخ الہند مولانا محمود الحسن صاحب رحمۃ اللہ علیہ اسیر مالٹا ان سب لوگوں نے مل کر کئی اداروں کے مقابلہ میں ایک ادارہ مسلمانوں کا بنایا تھا۔ تعلیمی۔ اس کا نام جامعہ ملیہ اسلامیہ ہے۔ اب اگر وہ آج گورنمنٹ کے قبضہ میں چلا

کابل ٹھکتا جا رہا ہے۔ ورشوں ہو گئے ہیں۔ کروڑوں روپے کی پراپرٹی برباد ہو گئی ہے۔ دلی تک مین رینٹ کنٹرول ایکٹ سے اوقاف مستثنیٰ نہیں ہے۔ جن دکانوں کے برابر کی دکانیں پانچ پانچ ہزار روپیہ دس دس ہزار روپے مہینے کرائے پر ہیں۔ ان دکانوں کو پچاس پچاس روپے۔ دس دس روپے پر۔ دو دو روپے پر جس کی کوئی حیثیت نہیں ہوتی۔ ماہوار کرائے زبردستی رکھا جا رہا ہے۔

بہار۔ بنگال کٹہار اور دوسری جگہوں میں فرقہ پرست لوگ بنگلہ دیشی کہہ کر ہمیشہ ہنگامہ کھڑا کرتے ہیں۔ لوگوں کا امن خراب کرتے ہیں۔ مرشد آباد مالدہ۔ کیا بنگلہ دیش کے علاقے ہیں جو لوگ ہیں وہاں کے رہنے والے اور ادھر آ کر کے زمین خرید کر کے کھیتی کرتے ہیں تو ان کو غیر ملکی کہا جاتا ہے نگنشی بس میں ختم کر رہا ہوں۔

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You conclude tomorrow there. You can continue tomorrow.

مولانا اسعد مدنی: میں ختم کر رہا ہوں یہ بہت سلسلہ چلا آتا ہے۔

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: He wants to conclude now itself.

THE VICE-CHAIRiMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN); But he is not concluding

مولانا اسعد مدنی: اب میں تو بات ختم کر رہا ہوں۔ آسام میں بھی جو ہے۔ جی۔ پی کی سرکار بنی چند سو غیر ملکی نہیں نکالے جا سکے۔ جہاں ایک ایک ضلع میں لاکھوں کہے جاتے تھے اور انہی کی سرکار تھی۔ مرکز میں بھی اور صوبوں میں بھی۔ اسی طرح سے بہار میں بہت فسادات کرانا۔ کمیونل رائٹ کرانا حالات کو خراب کرنا ہم کسی غیر ملکی کے حق میں نہیں مگر ہندوستانیوں کو صرف اس لئے کہ وہ مسلمان ہیں یا فلاں ہیں یا بنگالی ہیں۔ ان کو غیر ملکی کہہ کر کے ستایا جائے۔ کرپشن کرایا جائے۔ رشوتیں لی جائیں۔ چلنا پھرنا مشکل ہو اور ان کی زندگی۔ قانون امن سب خراب کیا جائے۔ یہ ہرگز نہیں ہونا چاہیئے اس طرح کے لوگوں کی ہمت شکنی حکومت کرے۔ نگرانی کرے۔ حکومت کا فرض ہے کہ وہ دیکھے۔ شکایت کرو۔ لیکن اس طرح پریشان کرنا۔ جلوس نعرے۔ گھیراؤ یہ سب چیزیں بند ہونی چاہیئے اور قانون انصاف اور امن کا بول بالا ہونا چاہیئے۔ ظلم۔ ستم۔ ناانصافی یہ انتہائی خراب چیزیں ہیں۔ ان کو ختم کرنا حکومت کا فرض ہے۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں شکریہ کی اس تجویز کی تائید کرتا ہوں۔

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): The House stands adjourned till 11 O'clock tomorrow morning.

The House adjourned at four minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 5th March, -1992.